

INTIMACY, LONELINESS, AND ANGER IN INCARCERATED MALE OFFENDERS.

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ABSTRACT

Lack of intimacy and the experience of loneliness have been linked with aggressive attitudes and behaviours since the early part of this century. More recent work on attachment has helped to clarify the ways in which early relational experiences contribute to the development of interpersonal strategies used in later life. Clarification of the relationship between identity and intimacy has increased understanding of this process. Recently researchers have begun to investigate the relationship between lack of intimacy and different types of criminal offending.

The present study assessed levels of intimacy and loneliness, as well as the experience and expression of anger, in four offender groups: child molesters, rapists, violent offenders, and non-violent offenders, at two medium security prisons (n=88). Three psychometric scales were used to measure these constructs: the Waring Intimacy Questionnaire (WIQ), the UCLA Loneliness Scale-Revised (UCLS-R), and the State Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI).

Results suggest that perpetrators of crimes against the person, both sexual and non-sexual, experience lower levels of intimacy in their relationships compared to non-violent offenders. High levels of loneliness were found for both types of sex offender compared to violent and non-violent offenders. Violent offenders reported high levels of anger compared to the other three groups. Examination of the subscales of the WIQ and STAXI revealed further difference between the four main groups, and within the child molester group. Overall, results indicate differences in the level of intimacy, loneliness, and anger for different offender groups, and subgroups. The significance of these findings with respect to the etiology and maintenance of offending is discussed, with particular reference to sex offending. An evaluation of the present study is undertaken and directions for future research suggested.

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PART ONE:
LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that the quality of early childhood bonding and attachment to a primary caregiver has implications for the development of intimate relationships in later life (e.g., Bowlby 1973). Insecure attachment, for example, is seen as precluding development of the skills and attitudes necessary for initiation and maintenance of such relationships. Recently the etiological significance of inadequate attachment for criminal offending, via lack of intimacy skills and loneliness, has been considered (e.g., Allen, Calsyn, Fehrenbach, & Benton, 1989; Check, Perlman, & Malamuth, 1985; Marshall, 1989a; Marshall, Hudson, & Hodkinson, in press).

As far back as 1938 Zilboorg proposed that loneliness, resulting from lack of intimacy, increases the likelihood of individuals engaging in aggressive behaviour. Recently Check et al. (1985) have confirmed this association, while others have looked at the role of deficits in intimacy in relation to specific types of offending, for example domestic violence (Allen et al., 1989). It has also been proposed that lack of intimacy and subsequent loneliness combined with other factors contributes to sex offending (Marshall, 1989a). In initial research by Marshall and his colleagues (in Marshall et al., in press), sex offenders reported less intimacy and more loneliness in their lives than non-offender controls.

The contribution of inadequate attachment and of deficits in intimacy to sex offending, may be best understood within the context of an integrated theory proposed by Marshall and Barbaree (1990). This theory begins with consideration of a proposed inherent male capacity for sexual aggression, usually constrained by social inhibitions. It is suggested that some individuals do not have the opportunity to acquire and integrate inhibiting social mores. In addition such individuals, most often from disrupted family backgrounds, fail to develop the skills needed to develop healthy

relationships within which sexual/intimacy needs can be met. The combination of disinhibition and interpersonal ineptitude contributes to their seeking sexual contact with inappropriate partners. It is suggested that vulnerability to sex offending becomes apparent during adolescence when hormone release begins. Risk of developing deviant sexual behaviour is increased as a result of self esteem, identity, and sexual activity being closely linked during this developmental stage, especially for males.

The sociocultural context is considered an important factor in the development of deviant sexual behaviour in terms of transmission of ideals of male dominance and promotion of unrealistic expectations, notably through pornography. Marshall and Barbaree (1990) suggest the individuals from deprived family backgrounds are especially susceptible to messages presented by the media. It is suggested that such males, concerned with bolstering their self-esteem and sense of masculinity, will readily accept ideals of male superiority and domination.

Family backgrounds which clearly preclude the development of the ability to be intimate, such as those characterized by abuse and neglect, have been found to be common to both rapists and child molesters (Marshall, 1989a). Lack of social competence during childhood, which is likely to be at least in part a result of growing up in such an environment, has been found to be a reliable predictor of sexual offending in adulthood (Knight, Prentky, Schneider, & Rosenberg, 1983). Difficulties with interpersonal interaction are likely to be compounded during adolescence through the absence of heterosexual relationships and lack of sexual rehearsal (Schwartz & Masters, 1983). This is suggested to lead to social immaturity and high levels of anxiety when interacting with women, especially those considered potential sexual/intimate partners.

In addition, it is proposed that low bonding to family increases the

likelihood that adolescents will associate with deviant peers, which is seen as a primary determinant of delinquent behaviour (Elliot, Huizinger, & Ageton, 1985). The validity of this theory for adolescent sex offenders has been questioned however, as a result of their apparently low level of emotional bonding to peers (Blask, Borduin, Henggeler, & Mann, 1989). This may be seen as indicating a unique etiology for this group, which is likely to be related to the development of deviant arousal and behaviour in adolescent sex offenders.

Like other behaviour, sexual offending is multidetermined. Therefore, it is not surprising that so far no single variable has been found which clearly discriminates between child molesters, rapists and normal males (Segal & Marshall, 1985). While it is very probable that insecure attachment, failure to develop intimacy skills, and loneliness contribute to individuals' sex offending, these factors alone are not sufficient to explain such behaviour. Such deficits and experiences clearly do not always lead to sex offending. It is likely that the process by which inadequate attachment contributes to criminality varies from person to person, and from group to group. Despite this, evidence suggests that deficits in interpersonal ability are a useful focus for treatment for sex offenders (e.g., Schwartz & Masters, 1983; Segal & Marshall, 1985). This seems to be especially so for adolescent offenders whose inadequacies are more easily addressed, and whose deviant behaviour is less entrenched (Becker, Cunningham-Rathner, & Kaplan, 1986; Steen & Monette, 1989).

Clearly it is the interaction of deficits in intimacy with other factors, such as unassertiveness, aggressiveness, deviant arousal, and low self esteem, which potentiates sex offending (Marshall, 1989a). Anger is one variable identified by several researchers as important in the prediction of sexual offending (e.g., Groth, 1979a; Marshall, 1989a). Experiencing anger as a reaction to the absence of intimate relationships is thought to be common to the majority of sex offenders, however the degree to which such anger is expressed through offending varies (Marshall, 1989a). It is suggested that

some men react to the experience of loneliness by directing anger towards the perceived cause of their situation, namely women. Others are constrained by various factors, such as lack of assertiveness, from expressing their anger. Thus, the way in which an individual expresses anger is likely to influence the type of offence committed. For example, less assertive individuals may be more likely to offend against children. There is some support for this from findings that child molesters lack assertiveness compared to rapists (e.g., Segal & Marshall, 1985).

The particular combination of key factors is likely to determine the type of offending, for example, rape of an adult versus child molestation, or intra-versus extra-familial child abuse. One of the main aims of the present study is to identify characteristics which distinguish different types of sexually assaultive perpetrators. It is likely that intimacy deficits are manifested in different ways in different types of sex offenders. For example, child molesters seem to be more isolated (Blask et al., 1989) and less assertive (Segal & Marshall, 1985) than rapists. A recent review of treatment for sex offenders suggested that treatment programmes which are effective for child molesters are not necessarily useful for rapists (Marshall, Jones, Ward, Johnston, & Barbaree, 1991). Although treatment of sex and non-sex offenders may be similar in some respects, clearly some aspects would differ. For example, addressing the problem of deviant sexual arousal would be appropriate for most if not all sex offenders, but few if any non-sex offenders. Therefore differences between individuals who offend sexually and those who commit other types of offenses are also examined in the present study.

For the purposes of the current study two major sex offender groups have been focused on, namely rapists (i.e., those who offend sexually against adult women) and child molesters (familial and non-familial). The term sex offender includes both of these groups when used in the present study. To date the primary distinction between rapists and child molesters has been in terms of the age of the victim. However the usefulness of separating these

two groups solely on this basis has been questioned (Bard, Carter, Cerce, Knight, Rosenberg, & Schneider, 1987). Although age does appear to be an important discriminator, and is certainly an important distinction within justice systems, there is substantial overlap of the characteristics of rapists and child molesters.

Initial child molester typologies consisted of a distinction between fixated and regressed offenders (Groth, Hobson, & Gary, 1982). The former is described as having a primary interest in children, which claimed to be indicative of arrested psychosexual development. In contrast, the regressed child molester is likely to have sexual relations with agemates, with their offending usually being impulsive and precipitated by stress.

This dichotomous typology has been expanded by Knight and Prentky (1990) to include, in addition to assessment of degree of fixation, consideration of individuals' level of social competence. The degree of contact with children in both sexual and non-sexual contexts is also looked at along with the meaning of that contact. That is, whether the victim is considered an appropriate companion or the association between the child and offender is more narcissistic (i.e., offenders primary focus is their own sexual satisfaction). Low contact offenders are divided according to the amount of physical injury they inflict, with high injury offenders being further classified in terms of whether or not they are sadistically motivated.

A similar classification system for rapists divides offenders into four groups based on motivation for offending (Knight & Prentky, 1990). The first type of offender is considered opportunistic, as his offending is primarily controlled by contextual factors, rather than sexual fantasy. This group is obviously sexually motivated, but not to the same degree as a second group whose motivation is primarily sexual. The offending of the latter group is maintained by sexual fantasies. Some members of this second group are claimed to have trouble differentiating between their sexual and aggressive

drives (sadistic type). A third type of rapist is characterized by hostility towards women, however unlike the sadistic sub-type, their anger is not eroticised. A fourth group is described as pervasively angry and appears to be motivated by undifferentiated, unsexualized anger. Unlike rapists who direct their hostility only towards women, members of the fourth group display impulsive behaviour in a variety of contexts. In addition, like child molesters, rapists are also classified in terms of their level of social competence.

Obviously child molesters and rapists are motivated by a number of factors and do not fall neatly into categories. However typologies such as Knight and Prentky's (1990) facilitate investigation of salient motivating factors, and other characteristics of the offender and their offense.

In addition to considering the above factors, it is also useful to consider more closely the age of offenders, as it is well recognized that sex offending by adolescents is not uncommon (Blask et al., 1989; Fehrenbach & Monastersky, 1988; Groth et al., 1982). Obviously for these offenders developmental factors need to be given special consideration. In addition, a recent report (Johnson, 1988) suggests that it may be necessary to consider an even younger group of offenders (4-12 years old). It was proposed that the behaviour of the children in this sample could be considered sexually abusive, rather than merely experimental. While it is likely that some of this group display abusive behaviour, there is a danger of oversensitivity to such behaviour, which may lead to the labelling of transitory sexual impulses as abusive (Marshall, Laws, & Barbaree, 1990).

Finally, brief mention of female child molesters is warranted as, although not as abundant as male offenders, they are not as rare as previously thought (Dimock, 1988; Fehrenbach & Monastersky, 1988; McCarty, 1986). This is becoming especially apparent as criteria for sex offending by females is brought into line with that used for male offending (Hunter, 1990). It also appears that females offend not only as co-offenders with males, but also on

their own (Fehrenbach & Monastersky, 1988). The limited literature suggests female offenders share some characteristics with their male counterparts. However it is likely that female offenders have unique characteristics, related to social expectations and their role as primary caregiver. Thus, it may be useful to make comparisons between female and male sex offenders.

In the following chapter on attachment, the importance of bonding to a primary figure will be considered, along with the impact of disruption of this process. The etiological significance for criminal offending, especially of a sexual nature, of such disruption will be more fully explicated in chapter three, which focuses on intimacy. Finally, the experience of loneliness and its relationship to offending will be considered in chapter four. In the final chapter of part one the rationale for, and aims of, the present study will be presented.

CHAPTER TWO: ATTACHMENT

The Origin and Function of Attachment

Definition.

Attachment bonds between parents and infants are claimed to evolve in animals and humans in order to protect vulnerable offspring (Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde, 1990). Anxiety over separation serves to keeping the infant within the range of a parent, and therefore protected. However, Harlow's (1971) work with monkeys indicated that the attachment bond provides more than just protection. Bowlby (1975) has proposed that this bond provides the child with the security needed to confidently explore the world and establish relationships with other individuals. The attachment bond between a child and their parent is said to be a central feature of the child-caregiver relationship.

Attachment theory has its origins in psychodynamic thought, but was developed as a response to the lack of empirical support for the theory of this tradition. Bowlby (1975) presented his theory as a framework for understanding existing data, and guiding further research. Attachment was defined as behaviour aimed at attaining, maintaining, or retaining proximity to a differentiated and preferred individual. For infants, attachment behaviour includes clinging, crying, and smiling, while older children, adolescents, and adults use more sophisticated forms of behaviour. In adult life, as in childhood, this behaviour is especially evident when a person is distressed. It has been suggested that at a basic level attachment figures are characterized not so much in terms of intimacy or confiding, but rather in terms of the security they provide (Weiss, 1989).

Although it is likely that bonding between mother and child starts during pregnancy, the birth process is cited as the beginning of the attachment process (Parkes & Stevenson-Hinde, 1982). It is suggested that the bond

between mother and child can be easily damaged if the birth situation is problematic in some way. For example premature birth has been shown to have a negative impact on both the child's and the mother's postnatal behaviour (Macey, Harmon, & Easterbrooks, 1987). Bonding may also be disrupted by postnatal separation necessitated by premature neonates' lack of physical development.

The development of bonds to a caregiver during a child's early years may be seen as the first stage of the attachment process. Although the attachment process begins at, or before birth, it is not until they are six months old that an infant begins to clearly distinguish their primary caregiver from strangers. After the third year attachment behaviours start to slowly diminish. However, while such behaviour becomes increasingly less evident, it continues to be an important part of the individual's behavioural repertoire. The ability to access such behaviour remains important even in adulthood. As is the case with children, attachment behaviour is most evident in adults during times of stress.

Adolescents' separation from their primary attachment figure may be seen as a second important stage of the attachment process. During this stage child-parent attachment usually weakens so that new attachments can be developed (Bretherton, 1985). While behaviour may diminish during this time, the attachment system remains fully operational. Although this stage involves disengagement, it may be seen as a central part of the attachment process, in that failure to individuate is likely to inhibit secure attachment in later life. Continued close attachment to a primary attachment figure or figures is likely to preclude formation of intimate bonds with others. There is evidence to suggest that such failure to disengage may be etiologically significant for the offending of adolescent child molesters (Blask et al., 1987). While such an association is highly speculative, it seems worthy of further investigation.

Although the primary aim of attachment behaviour is the attainment of proximity to an attachment figure, behaviours antithetical to this purpose have been noted in infants by several researchers (e.g., Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Walls, 1978; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985). For example in some cases avoidant or resistant behaviour is displayed in addition to, or instead of, contact seeking behaviour. It is likely that such behaviour is an integral part of some infants' internal working models of relationships. Therefore, avoidance and resistance may remain a part of their behavioural repertoire through adolescence and adulthood. Observation of behaviours antithetical to contact with the attachment figure, suggest a need to extend attachment theory beyond mere proximity promotion.

Another area for consideration relates to the proposed difficulty of forming secure attachment bonds with more than one person (Parkes and Stevenson-Hinde, 1982). Bowlby (1975) suggested that an individual may have more than one attachment figure, but that these are not treated equally, and are arranged in hierarchical order. It has been suggested that such hierarchies are also apparent in adulthood (Marris, 1982). The primary figure in a hierarchy is not preferred in all types of social interactions, but rather only those in which the attachment behaviour system is aroused, for example where a child is frightened. For most children, their mother is most likely to be the primary figure in an attachment hierarchy. Methodologically this is potentially problematic as it could lead to bias towards mothers in the investigation of attachment (Main et al., 1985). Thus, it may be difficult to obtain a full picture of the dynamics of the attachment process, that is, one that includes infant-father and other important attachment relationships.

The Internal Working Model

Early mental representation of relationships have always been a central aspect of psychoanalytic theory. Proponents such as Anna Freud suggest that infants' first schemata evolve out of experiences of need fulfilment (Main et al., 1985). Within this framework attachment figures are perceived as good or bad depending on whether they assist or obstruct the fulfilment of the infant's desire. Theories such as this imply a relatively static and reactive development of internal working models of relationships.

Bowlby (1973, 1980) proposed a more active and continually constructed model of the relationship between an individual and their primary attachment figure. One which is used not only in appraising this relationship, but also in guiding behaviour in new situations. He suggested that such models tend to exist outside of consciousness and tend to be stable. Young infants are said to have a working model of relationships, even before cognitive abilities developed to a relatively advanced stage. From approximately six months onwards a baby's behaviour becomes overtly goal directed, consistent with increasing cognitive ability and motor development (Ainsworth, 1982). Behaviour becomes more structured as the infant is increasingly able to understand their caregiver's perspective, and can more actively plan and set goals.

It is suggested that in childhood internal working models can only be altered in response to changes in concrete experience (Bowlby, 1980). However, following the onset of the stage of formal operations in early adolescence, it is possible for models of earlier relationships to be more readily altered (Ainsworth, 1982). This is due to the development of the ability to think abstractly. Thus as the individual develops, earlier more simple models are replaced by more complex representations of the attachment relationship. As cognitive capacity increases, a child's memory is increasingly guided by a general event schemata that organizes their experience in terms of others' reactions, their own goals, attempts at attaining these, and the outcome of such attempts (Mandler, 1983).

Internal working models are claimed to direct not only affect and behaviour, but also attention, memory, and cognitions related directly and indirectly to attachment (Main et al., 1985). This is said to occur at both conscious and unconscious levels. The internal working model has a strong propensity for stability, but it is not most usefully seen as a template on which relationships are based (Main et al., 1985). These authors suggest that it is best seen as a series of structured processes, which permit or limit access to information. Once established such models are actively self-perpetuating, rather than being static as suggested by template theories. For example, information that is potentially disruptive to the system is not merely blocked from perception (as template theories suggest), but is actively countered by perceptual and behavioural control mechanisms. Thus, individual differences in internal working models are not only reflected in nonverbal behaviour, but also in patterns of language and structures of mind. Obviously such representations cannot be witnessed directly, however it is possible to empirically test this hypothesis using analysis of language and other representational processes (Main et al., 1985).

Recent work by Safran (1990) has further facilitated the placement of the concept of attachment within a cognitive behavioural framework and allowed further empirical investigation in this area. The interpersonal schema proposed by Safran is presented as a cognitive elaboration of Bowlby's internal working model. This expansion begins with the assumption that people have a "wired in" propensity for maintaining interpersonal relatedness. This predisposition provides the basis for the development of an interpersonal schema, which is defined as "a generic knowledge structure based on previous interpersonal experience, that contains information relevant to the maintenance of interpersonal relatedness" (Safran, 1990; p.87).

The interpersonal schema is constructed from the outcome of interactions

with attachment figures. It permits predictions to be made about such interactions, increasing the probability of maintaining relatedness. Over time interactions that are similar in nature are said to become averaged in memory, forming an abstracted generalized representation of primary relationships. (Stern, 1985). These prototypical memories suggested by Safran (1990), are similar to Bowlby's concept of an internal working model, but are more specific in nature. The idea of different schemata for different relationships is consistent with evidence that individuals have multiple internal working models (Bretherton, 1985).

Safran (1990) takes a broader view of the attachment process and the development of internal working models of relationships than previous researchers. He suggests that the goal of the process is not the maintenance of relatedness to a specific person in a specific situation. Rather, the aim is being able to act in a way which enhances potential relatedness in an abstract or generalized sense. The theoretical model proposed by Safran allows more thorough consideration of the ways in which early attachment experiences impact on relationships in later life. This model has the potential to intergrate findings in this area with data on criminal offending.

Types of Attachment.

While many aspects of an individual's attachment are unique, it is suggested that the essential differences in internal working models of relationships are limited and can be divided into several relatively discrete types (Main et al, 1985). This is said to be possible as attachment appears to be biologically based and therefore, to a large extent environmentally stable. In addition, caregiver responses to offspring seeking and maintaining proximity, can also be represented by a limited number of broad categories.

Early work in this area identified broad types of attachment through observation of infants' responses to separation and subsequent reunion with

caregivers (Ainsworth et al., 1978). This method of assessing infant-caregiver relationships, known as the "strange situation" method, was based on the assumption that the reunion responses of an infant are indicative of their internal working model of their attachment relationship. Controlled studies demonstrated that behaviour in the strange situations was reflective of the caregiver-infant relationship in the home. (e.g., Ainsworth et al., 1978)

Three patterns of behaviour in reunion situations were identified. These patterns were described in terms of behaviour relevant to close bodily contact and a security-anxiety dimension. One type of attachment was classified as secure (Type B) and two were described as insecure (Types A and C).

Secure attachment (Type B), is said to develop when a caregiver is sensitive to a child's needs, and responds to them in a warm and physically affectionate way (Ainsworth et al., 1978). Infants in this group were observed engaging in various contact seeking behaviours. They also responded positively to physical contact with their caregiver, displaying little or no avoidance or resistance in the reunion situation. It is proposed that from the safety of such an environment the infant is able to develop adaptive strategies for relating to others.

Secure infant-caregiver dyads are said to be characterized by flexible interaction, which allows shifts in attention and emotional expression across a range of situations (Main et al., 1985). The caregiver's flexibility allows them to assess each situation and respond in a way which maximally meets the infant's needs. In contrast parents with insecurely attached children tend to have rigid rules for their children which may or may not be applied consistently. Caregivers in secure dyads were also reported as being more coherent and at ease when discussing their own attachment history, compared to insecure caregivers (Main et al., 1985).

Ainsworth et al. (1978) proposed that insecure attachment takes one of two

forms, depending on the nature of the deficits in the child's environment. The two types of insecure attachment were labelled anxious-ambivalent (Group C) and avoidant (Group A).

Anxious-ambivalent attachment (Group C) develops where caregivers are inconsistent in responding to infants' requests to have needs met. Infants in this group displayed avoidant behaviour, mingled with varying degrees of contact seeking behaviour. These children were described as anxiously attached, but were less resistant to physical contact than the other group of insecurely attached infants.

Groups C caregivers seemed to enjoy close bodily contact, but appeared insensitive to their infants signals. Ainsworth et al. (1978) proposed that they were less likely to know when their infant wanted attention, leading the child to lose confidence in the caregivers ability to meet their needs. Thus, when their attachment system was aroused the child was likely to become even more upset, as they had learned to expect frustration rather than comfort. Caregivers in both of the insecure groups (A and C) seemed to respond to their infants in fairly rigid rule-like ways. Although the caregiver's approach tended to be predictably restrictive, rules were often applied inconsistently (Main et al., 1985).

The second type of insecure attachment, avoidant (Group A), appears to be a consequence of the caregiver ignoring a child's needs such that they are seen as distant and even untrustworthy (Ainsworth et al., 1978). Group A caregivers were more rejecting than others, displaying an aversion to close body contact. They also appeared more angry and seemed more compulsive in their behaviour. Their babies appeared to want close bodily contact when their attachment system was activated. However the infants also sought to avoid it, most probably because of previous rebuffs (i.e., a classic approach-avoidance situation). Compared to the other two groups the contact seeking behaviour of avoidant infants was characterized by high levels of anger and

resistant behaviour.

A fourth type of attachment, insecure-disorganized/disoriented (Group D), has been suggested by Main et al. (1985). Infants in this group showed apparent confusion and behavioural disorganization when reunited with their caregiver. In some situations the six year old subjects were observed to be depressed, disorganized, and to behave in irrational ways. In contrast, in other situations the children were described as more controlled and controlling of the situation. Main and her colleagues have suggested that some infants in this group had previously been misclassified as secure. In addition, different styles of incoherency appeared to characterize insecure-avoidant and insecure disorganized/disoriented dyad caregivers. The former tended to contradict themselves in their reports of the attachment relationship, while the latter tended to oscillate between negative and positive reports. Disorganized/disoriented dyad caregivers also seemed unable, or unwilling, to remain on the topic under discussion.

Evidence suggests that attachment styles described above persist over time. For example, they have been found to be stable when comparing infants behaviour at 12 and 18 months (Waters, 1978). It is also claimed that there is a considerable body of evidence supporting the link between attachment style at one year old and behaviour at least up to six years of age (Ainsworth, 1982; Grossman & Grossman, 1990; Main et al., 1985). In addition, a relationship between quality of childhood attachments and adult love relationships has been found (Feeney & Noller, 1990; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1989). Given the apparent primacy and stability of the attachment relationship, it seems reasonable to assume that early attachment experiences will have a lifelong influence.

Attachment and Adult Relationships.

Whether conceptualized in terms of an internal working model or interpersonal schema, it seems clear that the nature of an individual's attachment has a major influence on the development of interpersonal strategies. These in turn obviously have a significant impact on relationships in later life. Securely attached children for example, are claimed to develop optimal skills for relating to others, as well as building their self-esteem (Grossman & Grossman, 1990). These individuals tend to display positive attributes, such as empathy and reciprocity, which contribute to their having more friends and being seen as more sociable.

To some extent parents pass on interpersonal skills, and deficits, through modelling. For example individuals' observation of parents intimate behaviour during their childhood reportedly affected their ability to be intimate in later life (Waring, Tillman, Frelick, Russell, & Weisz, 1980). However, early attachment experiences do not influence later relationships simply through modelling. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, both sides of the relationship are introjected by the individual and become part of their internal working model of relationships (Patterson & Moran, 1988). For example, this means an abused child conceives relationships as involving an abuser and a victim, perceiving their subsequent relationships within this framework. The perpetuation of such a perception is facilitated by the tendency for romantic partners to have complementary and mutually confirming internal working models (Bowlby, 1973).

It had been suggested that romantic relationships fulfil the requirements for attachment bonds (Weiss, 1982). That is, individuals are motivated to maintain proximity to a primary figure, the presence of the figure is accompanied by increased security, and separation or threats of such, result in some form of protest. The degree and intensity of such occurrences is said to be moderated and complicated by a number of factors, including the more developed cognitive abilities and sexuality of adults. However, subsequent

work has suggested that adult bonds do not so closely approximate attachment relationships (Weiss, 1986). Even if attachment behaviour is not elicited in adult relationships, it is very likely that internal models developed in childhood influence adult relationships (Paterson & Moran, 1988). Attachment style is claimed to exert a pervasive influence as it reflects general beliefs about the costs and benefits of interpersonal interaction, especially in the context of intimate relationships (Feeney & Noller, 1990).

The influence of early experiences on adult relationships is said to depend on several factors, including the degree of similarity between a current partner and the original attachment figure. In addition, it is thought that the stronger the relationship with the attachment figure, the more influential it will be in later life. These points make intuitive sense, however Paterson and Moran (1988) suggest there has not been adequate theoretical discussion of these issues. It is also suggested that it is very difficult to investigate the veracity of proposals such as these. Although there is some doubt about the nature of adult attachments there is evidence to suggest that the same three attachment styles presented in the infant literature are manifested in adult romantic love (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

Results from a recent study support a link between individuals' attachment history and their approach to romantic relationships (Feeney & Noller, 1990). Individuals with a secure attachment history were found to be more trusting in their relationships and to have higher self-esteem, than insecurely attached individuals. The greater length of secure individuals' relationships and their lower levels of unfulfilled hopes were claimed to provide indirect evidence of this group's greater success with relationships. Not surprisingly those with an avoidant attachment history had the greatest tendency to avoid intimacy.

The two insecure groups shared a number of characteristics, including high levels of self consciousness, a tendency to have unfulfilled hopes, and low

self-esteem, they also differed in important ways. Individuals classified as anxious-ambivalent commonly took an extreme approach to love, tending to be more obsessed with and emotionally dependent on, their partner.

These individuals were also more likely to idealize their partners.

Participants classified as avoidant expressed the greatest degree of mistrust of others, and were least likely to report being in love. Somewhat surprisingly no gender differences were found in the insecure attachment styles.

Previously it has been suggested that anxious-ambivalent and avoidant styles bear at least a superficial resemblance to female and male (respectively) patterns of communication (Feeney & Noller, 1990)

Given that early attachment appears to influence relationships in adulthood, it is important to identify those factors in childhood which may preclude development of adaptive internal working models/interpersonal schema. Primary areas of concern are discussed in the following section.

Disrupted Attachment and Bonding.

Separation.

Early work considering the impact of major separation (i.e., for two weeks or more) on attachment revealed changes in infant behaviour on reunion with their primary caregiver (e.g., Robertson, 1953). For example, securely attached children who were separated from their attachment figure were found to display insecure behaviour on their return to their home. Length of separation was found to affect the type of behaviour displayed. For example, children left for a relatively short time were clingy and easily angered, whereas those left for longer periods tended to treat caregivers with indifference. This behaviour was sometimes mixed with bouts of hostility and/or proximity seeking. Following extended separation infants were found to actively avoid their caregiver on reunion.

In some cases prolonged or regular separation may contribute to the development of certain types of psychiatric disorders (Bowlby, 1980). For example early loss of a parent appears to increase the risk of developing Depression in adulthood (Brown, 1982). The early loss is conceptualized as a vulnerability factor which may be triggered by a provoking agent in later life. Inadequate attachment is more closely associated with several childhood disorders, such as Separation Anxiety Disorder and Avoidant Disorder of Childhood (DSM III-R; American Psychiatric Association, 1987). Separation from a primary caregiver is implicated as an important etiological variable for these disorders. In some cases childhood disorders such as these appear to be precursors of adult psychiatric disorders, such as Social Phobia.

Just as provoking agents appear to contribute to the onset of Depression, loss of an attachment figure in later life may stimulate old internal working models. Research in several areas provides indications of the long term impact of separation from a primary attachment figure. Consideration of

the impact of attachment history on adult romantic relationships, revealed that those who tended to express mistrust of others were also most likely to report separation from their mother during childhood (Feeney & Noller, 1990). Results from another study raised the question of an association between sex offending and childhood separation (Bard et al., 1987). In this sample child molesters tended to be hospitalized, and therefore separated from their primary caregiver, more often than rapists and controls. These associations between separation and behaviour in later life may be seen as indirect, however they do provide some indication of the impact of these early experiences. Obviously the link between attachment experience and behaviour in later life is mediated but numerous factors. However, consideration of disruption to attachment through separation may provide important information for dealing with problem behaviour in adolescence and adulthood.

The above findings indicate that major separation leads to a change in an infant's internal working model of the relationship with their attachment figure. However, changes in the attachment relationship may develop without major separation, that is, as a function of interactive events. For example, in some cases caregivers may become less attentive to an infant's requests, or develop an aversion to physical contact.

Parenting Styles/Family Background.

It has been suggested that children's behaviour is more severely disrupted by parental discord than by the separation of parents (Kolvin, Miller, Fleeting, & Kolvin, 1988). In the sections above the impact of parental factors on the individual's development of an internal working model of relationships is considered relatively briefly. In this section the effect of these factors will be considered within the broader context of the family environment. In addition, the predictive power of family characteristics in relation to juvenile crime, especially sex offending, will be considered.

It seems reasonable to assume that parents' internal representation of their own life history and relationships shape the way in which they perceive and treat their children. In fact, strong links have been found between the nature of caregivers' own internal working model of relationships and the quality of their attachment to their child (Main et al., 1985). Specifically, it is suggested that secure adults are easily able to integrate information provided by their child's behaviour into their own internal working model. This allows them to be sensitive to their child's needs, rather than focusing on their own. In contrast insecure caregivers are not able to do this, as a result of deficits in their models of relationships. However, this integrative ability is not necessarily stable. Major life events, such as psychiatric or physical illness may decrease a caregivers ability to be sensitive to their child's needs. This in turn may lead to a change in the child's perception of their attachment relationship.

Three types of insecure parents have been identified by Main and her colleagues (Main & Goldwyn, 1984; Main et al., 1985). The first type tends to be dismissive of the importance of attachments and usually parent avoidant children. A second group is preoccupied with, and often idealizes, their relationship with their own parents. Members of this group tended to be parents of insecure-ambivalent children. A third group had apparently failed to resolve issues around the death of an attachment figure in their childhood and tended to parent insecure-disorganized/disoriented children. Overall, a significant relationship was found between infants' attachment classification and mothers' model of attachment (Main et al., 1985) .

Despite clear maternal influence it has been claimed that the degree of paternal involvement is generally more powerfully associated with delinquency (Johnson, 1987). However, such findings need to be interpreted with extreme care, given possible bias in the methods used to collect the data (i.e., fathers are rarely respondents). Contrary to the claim of dominant paternal influence, observation studies suggest maternal lack of

involvement is more strongly related to children's problem behaviour (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1985). These observations are consistent with findings which suggest that physical abuse by mothers is more damaging to the attachment bond than maltreatment by anyone else (Lamb, Gaensbauer, Malkin, & Schultz, 1985). These two latter findings are more consistent with mothers usually being the primary attachment figure.

It is clear that both parents' behaviour influences children's development greatly. It is also clear that children's behaviour effects the reactions of parents and other family members. That is, the impact of environmental variables is likely to be moderated by a child's temperament. For example a child with an antagonistic personality is likely to be scapegoated by the family, whereas a more easy going children may have hostility focused on them to a lesser extent. Most studies have not isolated factors relating the children's personality, so it is difficult to estimate the relative impact of these factors (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1985). The lack of assessment of direction of causation in delinquent families (i.e., whether family dysfunction causes offending or vice versa) has also been remarked on (Blask et al., 1989). They have suggested that in at least some cases high rates of estrangement and anxiety reported by adolescent sex offenders is likely to be a direct result of their offending.

While there are questions about the direction of causation in families of juvenile delinquents, there is clear evidence that certainly family characteristics are consistently associated with delinquent behaviour. A longitudinal study of over one thousand families which found a strong relationship between criminal offending, poor parental care (e.g., lack of guidance and supervision), and inadequate parental modeling of appropriate behaviour (Kolvin et al., 1988). The authors claim these variables have a stronger relationship with offending than marital discord and dissolution. However, it is acknowledged that it is most likely that these two sets of variables act both separately and together, to give rise to a

general atmosphere of family stress and disorganization. A meta-analysis of longitudinal studies (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1985) supports the above findings, indicating that variables such as parental rejection, level of parent-child involvement, and lack of parental supervision are among the most powerful predictors of juvenile delinquency. However it is apparent that not all children neglected by their parents develop maladaptive behaviours and attitudes. One factor which has been identified as being protective in deprived family situations, is the presence of an alternative adult support person in the child's life. (O' Neill, 1985). It is likely that such a person provides an alternative attachment figure, as well as a model for more adaptive interpersonal behaviour

A neglect paradigm is claimed to be most useful in predicting delinquency (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1985). This paradigm refers to a situation in which parents spend insufficient time supervising and positively interacting with their children. Such neglect is likely to preclude the development of secure attachment bonds and the adaptive internal working models required to maintain satisfying relationships. Children in this type of situation receive little or no guidance, providing ample opportunity for them to become alienated and isolated from their parents. This alienation may be generalized such that these children are less constrained by social mores, especially when negative family factors are aggravated by variables such as economic hardship.

Closer inspection of family dynamics suggests that different patterns of attachment may be useful for identifying offender groups. For example assaultive adolescent offenders have been found to have low bonding to families and high bonding to deviant peers. In contrast, adolescent sex offenders relationships with their families were more closely matched to non-delinquent controls (Blask et al., 1989). Child molesters were also found to be more likely than rapists to have parents whose marriage remained intact throughout their childhood (Bard et al., 1987). However, it has been suggested that in general the families of adolescent sex offenders are

characterized by high rates of conflict, disorganisation, and dysfunction (Fehrenbach, Smith, Monastersky, & Deisher, 1986). In addition, the families of adolescent sex offenders and assaultive offenders have been found to be generally low in positive affect, and high in negative affect (Blask et al., 1989). Obviously further research is needed to clarify the link between family characteristics and offence type.

It seems that in some ways families of adolescent sex offenders are relatively normal. However, they also display symptoms of dysfunction. The answer to this puzzle may lie with the relative accuracy of self report versus observational studies. In one sample mothers and sex offender sons reported that their families were relatively well adjusted (Blask et al., 1989). However observation of mother-son dyads failed to confirm this. Also, mothers of sex offenders reported very high rates of ruminative symptoms, and subsequent clinical work with some of the sex offender subjects families suggested high levels of dysfunction. Further evidence of dysfunction in families of sex offenders comes from a comparison of offenders who denied their crimes with those who admitted to them (Sefarbi, 1990). Families which supported offenders denial of the abuse tended to be enmeshed. This denial and apparent overprotectiveness is consistent with positive self-reports of adolescent sex offenders and their mothers regarding family cohesion (i.e., maintaining the illusion of a cohesive family unit). Such enmeshment is likely to contribute to isolating adolescent sex offenders from their peers. Sefarbi (1990) did not consider the type of attachment of the two groups in the study, however consideration of family characteristics strongly indicate anxious-ambivalent attachment in deniers compared with avoidant attachment in admitters.

Finally, it should be noted that the effects of a negative family environment are not always immediately apparent. A brief consideration of sleeper effects is merited, that is effects which are not evident in the child's behaviour for several years (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1985). It is suggested that the

effect of parental rejection and lack of supervision which is likely to result from the more severely disabling psychiatric disorders, become more apparent when they occur over an extended period. This means the impact of these variables would be more noticeable in longitudinal, rather than concurrent studies.

Child Sexual Abuse.

Results from a national survey of American adults clearly supports the assertion that child sexual abuse is experienced by an notable portion of the general population of that country (27% of females and 16% of males) (Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis, & Smith, 1990). New Zealand studies have revealed similar levels of sexual abuse among the general population (Saphira, 1987). The general effect of such abuse, such as development of nightmares, behavioural regression, aggression, and sexual adjustment problems, is well recorded (e.g., Alter-Reid, Gibbs, Lachenmeyer, Sigal, & Massoth, 1986; Conte, 1988; Steele & Alexander, 1987). This section will specifically focused on the impact of abuse on individuals development of internal working models of interpersonal relationships. The relationship between sexual abuse and the development of dysfunctional internal models of relationships is clearly not straight forward. For example many more girls than boys are sexually abused as children, yet most sex offenders are male not female. At the same time it is well recognized that a significant proportion sex offenders were themselves sexually abused (Groth, 1979b; Robertson, 1991).

It is apparent that not only do sexual abused children behave differently from non-abused children (Conte, 1988), but also families of abused children appear to be different from those of non-abused children. Children from unhappy families have been found to be at higher risk of sexual abuse than others (Finkelhor et al., 1990). Results of the study indicate that the labelling by victims of their childhood as unhappy, was not merely a reflection of

distorted memories of family life generated by the abuse. The happiness of a family was a good predictor of both familial and extra-familial abuse. Finkelhor and his colleagues suggest that children in such families are vulnerable to the manipulation of an abuser offering affection and attention. In addition, limited parental supervision is likely to contribute to the higher risk of abuse in this group.

It is interesting to note that one of the highest risk situations for girls was where their father was sole parent, while boys were at higher risk living with only their mother (Finkelhor et al., 1990). It is likely that in these situations parents are least able to meet their children's needs as they are required to do the work of two people. In these situations opposite sex children may be viewed as substitute partners, and in some cases sex them may be used as a means of coping with stress. For the victims it is highly likely that the incest will distort their internal working models, especially as they become more aware of the normal dynamics of parent-child relationships. It is also likely that having introjected the incestuous roles, abused individuals will form dysfunctional expectations of potential partners. For example expectations that they (i.e., the abused individual) will be powerless in any relationship. This result of sexual abuse has been labelled by some authors as the victim mentality (e.g., Hunter, 1990).

Of particular relevance to the present work is the impact of sexual abuse on males, given that the current study's sample is male and that higher than normal rates of sexual victimization have been found in sex offender samples (approximately 70% compared to 16% in the general population) (Groth, 1979b). Within the sex offender group it appears that more child molesters than rapists are sexually abused as children (Blask et al., 1988). Initial investigation in New Zealand suggests a high proportion of child molesters (approx. 70%) were sexual abused as children (Robertson, 1991). Consideration of offenders own abuse is clearly important given the deleterious effects of sexual abuse on an individual's ability to develop interpersonal skills.

While it is apparent that the impact of sexual abuse is similar for male and female victims, it is also likely that boys and girls reactions to abuse are different in important ways. For example there are clear implications for boys molested in a social context which promotes male dominance. It has been suggested that as a result of socialization boys are much more likely than girls to see their victimization as a result of their own weakness (Ryan, Lane, Davis & Isaac, 1987). Thus, males are less likely to seek help and more likely to internalize guilt, anger, and feelings of powerlessness, leading to a state of learned helplessness or aggressive reactivity.

The impact is likely to be even more traumatic when the abuser is a woman, especially if the perpetrator is the victim's mother. Limited data suggests that men abused by their mothers during childhood have difficulty maintaining intimate and sexual relationships (Krug, 1989). However very limited literature in this area and lack of comparisons with other groups of male and female victims make it impossible to assess differences. However research comparing familial versus non-familial abuse suggests that the impact of familial abuse is more severe as it involves a greater betrayal of trust (Hartman, Finn, & Leon, 1987). According to attachment theory lack of trust precludes the development of a secure base from which an individual can develop adaptive relationships. Therefore, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that abuse by a primary attachment figure is more disruptive to the development of adaptive internal models of relationships, than abuse by someone else.

Despite the lack of an unequivocal causal links, it seems reasonable to assume that sexual abuse disrupts the bonding process and leads to development of distorted internal working models of relationships. The impact of familial abuse is apparently greater than that of extra-familial victimization due in large part to the greater significance to the abuser-abused relationship (e.g., Alter-Reid et al, 1986). Extra-familial abuse is also

likely to have a profoundly detrimental effect on an individual's perception of relationships, especially where a relationship between the offender and victim involves a certain amount of trust and commitment (e.g., family friend or sports coach). It may be argued that ultimately it is not valid to compare the relative impact of different types of sexual abuse, as all abuse is severe and disruptive. This may be a useful stance to take when treating offenders, but such an attitude does little to expand awareness of the impact of different types of sexual abuse. Ultimately this is an empirical rather than a philosophical question.

Summary

Work in the area of attachment, especially with regard to the development of internal working models of relationships, provides a solid base for examination of the influence of early bonding experiences on interpersonal interactions in later life. An emerging literature is starting to link behaviours and attitudes evidenced in childhood with those apparent in adult relationships. Identification of several different types of attachment has facilitated investigation in this area.

Consideration of the ways in which bonding may be disrupted, for example through separation or sexual abuse, allows greater understanding of processes which may lead to maladaptive behaviour in adolescence and adulthood. Further insight has been gained through examination of the impact of various parental characteristics, and isolation of factors common to the background of criminal offenders.

The processes through which disruption to attachment impact on individuals' ability to be intimate, and possibly contribute to criminal offending, is discussed more thoroughly in the following section.

CHAPTER THREE: INTIMACY

Conceptualization

Definition.

Intimacy may be seen as reflecting the need for deep involvement with another person. As such, it has been defined as "an emotional attachment between two people characterized by concern for each others well-being, a willingness to disclose private, and occasionally sensitive, topics; and a sharing of common interests and activities" (Steinberg, 1985, p.312). An indication of the importance of intimacy is that it has been found to constitute the largest single focus of people seeking psychotherapy (Horowitz, 1979)

In more cognitive terms intimacy is seen as subjective appraisal of interactions within the context of a relationship which lead to expectations regarding that relationship (Chelune, Robison, & Kommer, 1984). Using this definition, intimacy is conceptualized as an intermediate cognitive construct which facilitates the interpretation and prediction of interpersonal behaviour. This extends previous conceptualizations which have focused on observable patterns of behaviour, for example frequency of interaction (e.g., Hinde, 1976). A cognitive-behavioural conceptualization of intimacy allows greater understanding of the individual's perception of relationships. Thus, it provides greater scope for intervention with individuals whose deficits in interpersonal skills are etiologically significant for their maladaptive behaviour.

Appraisal of relationships is said to focus on several key aspects (Chelune et al, 1984). Firstly, knowledge of one another's private experiences gained through mutual self disclosure is cited as important in the development and growth of intimacy (Waring, Tillman, Frelick, Russell, & Weisz, 1980). This

exchange of personal information is suggested to further the understanding and acceptance essential for the development and maintenance of an intimacy.

A second area of appraisal concerns mutuality, that is the expectation that the relationship is a joint undertaking. It is not only the content of what is shared that is considered important, but the actual process of sharing itself. While mutuality requires joint effort, it does not necessarily require that the partners behave in an identical manner. A critical variable is partners' perception of whether or not the costs and benefits are fairly distributed within the relationship (Hatfield & Traupman, 1981). Obviously the partners' perceptions may differ from that of outsiders. Also, the fairness of the relationship may be re-evaluated by one or both of the partners over time.

Interdependence is a third aspect of intimacy considered as central (Chelune et al., 1984). Reliance on another for the meeting of certain needs is made possible by a fourth aspect of intimacy, namely trust. It is suggested that the increased vulnerability characteristic of intimate relationships is only tolerable if an individual believes that this state will not be exploited by their partner (Hinde, 1981). High levels of trust are attainable only in situations where partners see one another as being committed to the relationship. As is the case with mutuality, it is the perception of commitment that is important, rather than the actual level of commitment evidenced by a partner. The level of commitment perceived by partners is likely to change over time, especially in the early stages of a relationship. However, even in established relationships changes in an individual's confidence in the strength of a relationship will occur. For example, misinterpretation of behaviour may lead to one partner questioning the others level of commitment.

A final quality cited as important in the development of intimacy is caring.

It is suggested that a strong sense of affection between partners is always evident in intimate relationships (Driscoll, Davis, & Lipetz, 1982). All of the key aspects cited above are deemed to be necessary for the development of intimacy. As a result of the dynamic nature of interpersonal relationships, these qualities and their association with each other will change over time. This in turn leads to changes in the level of intimacy of a relationship. In addition, over time an individual will be influenced by the nature of a relationship and vice versa (Hinde, 1981).

In developing an instrument to measure intimacy Waring and his colleagues have considered the key areas of appraisal cited above (e.g., Patton & Waring, 1985; Waring, 1984). This has led them to operationally defining intimacy in terms of the following eight constructs: 1) Conflict Resolution, the manner in which differences of opinion are resolved; 2) Affection, the degree to which feelings of emotional closeness are expressed; 3) Cohesion, level of commitment to a relationship; 4) Sexuality, the level of communication and fulfilment of sexual needs; 5) Identity, level of self confidence and self-esteem; 6) Compatibility, the degree to which a couple works and plays together comfortably; 7) Expressiveness, the level of disclosure of thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and feelings; and 8) Autonomy, the degree of independence from families-of-origin and children.

People vary in the degree to which they are able to attain intimacy. It has been proposed that individual differences on three dimensions determine a person's intimacy status (Orlofsky, 1976; Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973). These dimensions are: the depth (co-operativeness, closeness and involvement), degree of autonomy (balance of dependence and independence), and level of commitment of a person to their relationships. Assessment of individuals in these three areas has led to the identification of several intimacy statuses.

The first status, 'intimate', describes someone who is committed to a

relationship involving a high degree of depth and autonomy. Research indicates that this status represents the most successful resolution of the intimacy/isolation stage of development, and is reflected in individuals' high level of satisfaction with their close relationships (Prager, 1989). A person who is committed to a relationship which lacks depth is described as 'pseudo-intimate'. In contrast a 'pre-intimate' individual tends to have one or more relationship which meets the criteria for autonomy and depth, but not commitment. 'Merger' status refers to a situation where an individual has a committed, deep relationship, but a lack of autonomy. 'Stereotype' relationships tend to be superficial and do not fulfil criteria for any of the three intimacy dimensions. Finally, 'isolates' are socially withdrawn and have no close relationships.

The validity of this concept has been demonstrated in a study where individuals' intimacy status was found to be predictive of their level of intimacy, measured in terms of self disclosure (Prager, 1989). Intimate status individuals were found to disclose more than merger individuals who in turn disclosed more than the pseudo-intimate group. However, while these differences were apparent in established relationships, they were not observed in situations with casual acquaintances. This suggests that those assessed as having an intimate status are selective in their disclosing. This aspect of self-disclosure will be discussed further in the next chapter, in relation to social skills.

Difficulties in the Measurement and Assessment of Intimacy.

Research findings which suggest levels of intimacy may vary from situation to situation, are indicative of the difficulty of measuring this construct (Chelune et al, 1984). Many things influence the reported degree of intimacy in a relationship, from the definition of intimacy to subjects' psychological state. In addition, it is likely that partners have different perceptions of a relationship, which suggests accurate measurement of intimacy must involve assessment of a couple's combined intimacy status (Prager, 1989).

A central question in the measurement of intimacy is whether a broad or a narrow definition is most useful. Given that intimacy is clearly a complex concept, a broader definition able to account for the wide variety of relationships seems preferable. For example, this would allow consideration of the fact that intimacy can exist in the physical absence of a partner, just as isolation can be experienced in the context of a relationship. A broader definition of intimacy would also facilitate closer examination of the relationship between intimacy and psychiatric illnesses, such as depression. A more inclusive definition would also be useful for clarifying the association between different types of criminal offending and levels of intimacy. In addition, adopting a broader definition would help to counter the fact that the relationship between intimacy and other constructs can be strengthened or weakened, depending on the former's definition. For example, a stronger relationship was noted between depression and lack of intimacy when a more comprehensive definition was applied by Waring and Patton (1984).

Related to the definition question is the problem of operationalization. Self-disclosure is often cited as a primary behavioural manifestation of intimacy (e.g., Waring & Chelune, 1983). However, it is apparent that there is not a clear relationship between the two constructs. For example, individuals described as non-intimate have been found to display a relatively high level of self disclosure in some situations, but not in others (Derlega & Marguis, 1982). Specifically, they tend to disclose too much in same sex contexts and too little in opposite sex situations. Self disclosure may be an important variable, however, it is clear that other factors contribute to the level of intimacy experienced by an individual. Therefore, it would be unwise to assess intimacy solely through the measurement of self-disclosure, as, while it is an important covariate of intimacy, the two constructs are not equivalent (Waring & Chelune, 1983). Unfortunately, in some research these terms are used inter-changeably, which raises questions about the validity of the data collected.

Using self-disclosure as a measure of intimacy may be confounded by the fact that individuals reporting high levels of intimacy in their lives, are distinguished not by their levels of self-disclosure, but by the appropriateness of the disclosure (Prager, 1986). Problems also arise due to the fact that the level of intimacy in a particular relationship may fluctuate over time. Thus, although observable features of a relationship may remain stable, one or both partner may perceive a lack of intimacy (Marshall, 1989a; Rusbult, 1987). In addition, close partnerships may preclude the development of intimacy with others (Weiss, 1982). Therefore, individuals who display a high level of intimacy in the context of a partnership may be less able to be intimate in other situations. It is possible that after some time in an intimate relationship the skills required to develop such a relationship may atrophy through lack of use.

Whatever definition is adopted, operationalization must account for the strong tendency of both men and women to respond in a socially desirable manner to questions on intimacy (Patton & Waring, 1985). The influence of social desirability can be expected in many areas of research, however it is suggested that its impact is especially confounding in the area of intimacy. Given the assertion that intimacy is desired by everyone (Marshall, Hudson, & Hodgkinson, in press), it is not surprising that people tend to answer intimacy related questions in a way which confirms that they are capable of having an intimate relationship.

Other problems not unique to the the study of intimacy relate to reliance on self-report (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1985) and the use of biased samples, such as university students (e.g., Aukett, Ritchie, & Mill, 1988). Obviously many of the difficulties discussed in this section are not unique to the study of intimacy, however, there are aspects unique to this construct which obstruct its assessment. Some of these will be outlined in the discussion of the relationship between identity and intimacy below.

Identity and Intimacy

Erikson's Developmental Theory.

According to Erikson's (1968) developmental model intimacy cannot be attained until an individual has developed their identity, that is, has a firm sense of self. Intimacy is defined as being able to make and abide by a commitment to a partnership which involves sacrifice and compromise (Erikson, 1963). Such a commitment is said to involve the development of a joint identity with another, which requires willingness to risk the ego-synthesis acquired through successful resolution of the identity stage.

It is proposed that an individual's identity develops through the integration of their experiences in the world, and in turn, it is through this self-schema that their experience of the world is interpreted. In this way identity serves to regulate experiences by providing scripts for particular situations (Schlenker, 1984). In short, "Ego identity is a complex role image that summarizes one's past, gives meaning to one's present, and directs behaviour in the future" (Adams & Gullotta, 1983, p.184). Thus, identity facilitates the experience of oneself as an entity characterized by continuity and stability (Erikson, 1963). The development of identity is a lifelong process, however it is proposed that it is most salient during late adolescence (Erikson, 1963).

Erikson's concept of identity has been extended by Marcia (1966), who proposed four levels of resolution of the identity/isolation stage, namely: identity achievement, diffusion, foreclosure, and moratorium. These identity statuses are said to be characterized by the presence or absence of crisis and/or commitment to ideological exploration in occupational, political, and religious areas. Individuals described as identity achieved are said to have experienced a crisis and made firm commitments in the aforementioned areas. In contrast, those with a diffused identity are characterized by a lack of commitment in important life areas. They may or

may not have experienced a crisis. Those with foreclosed identities have made commitments, usually based on parental values and characterized by rigidity, but have not experienced a crisis. Finally moratorium status is characterized by active involvement in a crisis and a struggle to clarify vague commitments.

Failure to resolve the crises of identity and intimacy is said to result in isolation (Erikson, 1968). Such isolation may be characterized by physical withdrawal, or may occur within the context of a pseudo-intimate relationship. That is, a relationship in which one or both partners lack self-awareness, commitment, and sensitivity to the needs of other (Craig-Bray, Adams, & Dobson, 1988). A subtype of pseudo-intimacy is stereotyped intimacy, where the individual is committed to a relationship which is shallow and superficial. Both of the above types of relationship may endure for long periods of time, even though they are relatively unsatisfying. Isolation may also exist within the context of repeated attempts to seek intimacy with the incompatible partners (Erikson, 1968). This appears to be consistent with proposals that some rapists hope that their victims may ultimately enjoy being raped and want to form a relationship (Groth, 1979a; Marshall, 1989a). It is also compatible with the view of some sex offenders that children are suitable partners for intimate sexual relationships (Groth et al., 1982).

There is evidence of a correlation between identity achievement and level of social functioning (Craig-Bray et al., 1988), however in some cases a high level of identity is associated with low intimacy and low identity with high intimacy. Thus, while identity may be sufficient for the development of intimacy, it may not be necessary (Kacetrgris & Adams, 1980; Tesch & Whitbourne, 1982). This failure to find a strong link between identity and intimacy, may at least in part be due to conceptual and methodological shortcomings (Craig-Bray et al., 1988). For example, it has been suggested that there has been too great a focus on the ideological and occupational

elements of identity development, and a failure to consider interpersonal aspects (Gilligan, 1982). The latter are proposed to be of more importance to the establishment of female identity. In addition, it has been claimed that the failure to distinguish between same and opposite-sex relationships has prevented clearer analysis of the identity-intimacy relationship (Craig-Bray et al., 1988). These authors also criticize the failure of most researchers to assess levels of intimacy and identity using data from a number of sources (e.g., self-report and behavioural measures in addition to clinical interviews).

A clearer link between identity and intimacy is apparent when a distinction is made between same and opposite-sex contexts (Craig-Bray et al., 1988). An association between these two constructs was found only in same-sex contexts. This led to the hypothesis that it is only during the later developmental transition into adulthood, that identity formation becomes strongly linked with intimacy in heterosexual contexts. It was also found that identity based on exploration of ideological issues was predictive of greater intimacy in same-sex contexts, for men and women. However, for women development of this area was predictive of less involvement in opposite sex situations. Craig-Bray et al. (1988) hypothesized that these women viewed heterosexual interactions as interfering with their self-discovery. This seems consistent with assertions that women gain greater satisfaction from same, rather than opposite-sex relationships (Aukett et al., 1988).

In contrast to women, men seeking to develop ideological elements of their identity reported less involvement in same sex relationships. This may be a result of exploration of ideological issues leading to questioning of traditional male values. This would be likely to decrease satisfaction with traditional male-male relationships. Therefore, those exploring ideological aspects of their identity may seek to develop more intimate relationships with women. The above findings suggest the link between identity and intimacy is not as straightforward as Erikson proposed.

Critique and Refinement of Erikson's Theory.

One of the main areas of criticism of Erikson's theory is his lack of consideration of gender differences in the development of identity and attainment of intimacy. Discussion in this section will focus on theoretical concerns, while the following section will focus on actual gender differences related to the development of intimate relationships.

Erikson (1968) suggested that although males and females are similar in their developmental stages, it would be useful to examine differences in female identity formation. He proposed that development of intimacy could occur at the same time as, or even prior to, the achievement of identity for females. That is, women's search for intimacy may result in a merger of identity and intimacy. There is some support for this proposition (Dyk & Adams, 1990; Schiedel & Marcia, 1985), as well as for the assertion that for males, identity precedes intimacy (Dyk & Adams, 1990). Despite alluding to differences, Erikson apparently did not feel that they were notable enough to merit modification of his developmental model (Dyk & Adams, 1990). A review of his work, has also failed to identify any systematic consideration of gender differences in identity formation (Franz & White, 1985).

Gilligan (1982) has questioned the applicability of Erikson's model for female development. She suggests that his consideration of the female productive inner space (i.e., their reproductive system) is inadequate, as it fails to take into account intrinsically female aspects of identity and intimacy development. Gilligan (1982) has proposed that women need to be understood on their own developmental terms, given that women's identity forms within the context of relationships. Thus, for women the processes of identity and intimacy are fused. In contrast, for males, identity is seen in terms of individual achievement and separation from others. Contrasting patterns of female and male development are claimed not to be due to gender per se, but rather to sex role orientation.

Consistent with these assertions, it has been found that when sex roles are controlled for, identity is predictive of intimacy for both males and females (Dyk & Adams, 1990). Also, for feminine oriented men the association between identity and intimacy tends to be more fused, than for masculine oriented men. However, the general male pattern of identity predicting intimacy was not altered, even for feminine males (Dyk & Adams, 1990).

Clearly there are gender differences related to the association between identity and intimacy. However, while there is support for a developmental model that considers these differences, there is some doubt as to whether or not current models have been clearly explicated, or adequately tested (Dyk & Adams, 1990). It has been suggested that gender distinctions alone, may be insufficient to understand the relationship between identity and intimacy. There is partial support for Gilligan's (1982) different "voices", but questions remain as to whether or not males can be included in the feminine "voice" (Dyk & Adams, 1990).

An alternative is the proposal of two "voices" (Dyk & Adams, 1990). The first comprising all males, regardless of sex role orientation, and all masculine oriented women. A second "voice" would encompass all feminine oriented females. Related to this proposal, is the possibility is that women have two developmental paths open to them. The first, mirroring traditional male development, is focused on occupational and ideologically oriented issues. While the second involves more traditional female development within the interpersonal realm (Scheidel & Marcia, 1985).

Another model proposes that Erikson's theory is incomplete, not because it is a theory of male development, but because it fails to take into account the processes of interpersonal attachment (Franz & White, 1985). According to these authors, the problem lies with the emphasis on the individuated, socially connected personality, at the expense of the attached, interpersonally connected personality. Thus, the emphasis is on only one aspect of the individual, at the expense of another, for both males and females. This

deficit is highlighted by Erikson's failure to show how individuals develop the skills required initiate and maintain intimate relationships (Franz & White, 1985).

A model presenting development as two interconnected paths (a double helix) has been suggested, with one path representing processes of individuation, and the other, processes of attachment (Franz & White, 1985). It is suggested that each stage represents a developmental change in both individuation, and attachment. Further, changes in one area are suggested to affect developments in the other. This model is claimed to be advantageous in its accounting for cross-sex role development, that is, development of instrumental, and expressiveness aspects of identity. This model seems most useful, given that for both sexes integration of masculine and feminine personality characteristics seem necessary for the development of intimacy (Dyk & Adams, 1990). For example, males identifying themselves in traditionally female terms are better able to explore intimacy, while masculine females are more able to maintain a stronger sense of themselves within an intimate relationship.

Gender Differences in the Ability to Attain Intimacy.

It may be possible for both sex-role orientations to be cultivated in men and women, however currently there are clear gender differences in the association between identity and intimacy (Kahn, Zimmerman, Csikszentmihalyi, & Getzels, 1985). In general, males tend to focus on intrapersonal aspects of identity, whereas females focused on interpersonal components. As a result of this males tend to resolve ideological aspects of identity earlier than females, but fail to resolve interpersonal issues. Thus, women, as a result of earlier development of interpersonal skills, tend to be more able to initiate and maintain intimate relationships than men (Craig-Bray et al., 1988; Fischer, 1981).

In relation to different patterns of identity and intimacy development, it is apparent that males and females are differentially reinforced for developing certain skills and attitudes. For example, from childhood boys are reinforced for showing independence, while girls are encouraged to be dependent. Thus females are reinforced for developing cooperative, nurturing attitudes and behaviours, while males are encouraged to hide emotional and physical vulnerability (Dimock, 1988). Ultimately this is problematic for men, given that the ability and willingness to be emotionally vulnerable appears to be a prerequisite for the attainment of intimacy (Chelune et al, 1984).

The claim that women develop interpersonal skills earlier is consistent with findings that men's relationships tend to be activity focused, while women's friendships are marked by an emphasis on emotional sharing and discussing personal problems (Aukett et al., 1988). Men may have more same sex relationships than women, but it seems that they are not as intimate (Aukett et al., 1988; Lewis, 1978). For example, self-disclosure, a suggested pre-requisite for intimacy, has been found to be low or non-existent in male-male relationships (Lewis, 1978). However, it is apparent that men do self-disclose to women friends, which seems consistent with their tendency to characterize only opposite sex relationships as intimate (Roscoe, Kennedy, & Pope, 1987). Such characterization may reflect a male tendency to associate intimacy with sex.

Despite indications of intimacy between men and women, the latter apparently fail to gain the same degree of support from cross-sex friendships, that they did from same-sex relationships (Aukett et al, 1988). This may be an indication of the one sided nature of male-female friendships, suggesting women may be less able to be emotionally intimate with men. In fact, it has been suggested that some more traditional men do not have intimate relationships with anyone, not even women (Aukett et al., 1988).

Stereotyped masculine behaviour and lack of role models are cited as

contributing to men's lack of ability to be intimate, especially with other men (Lewis, 1978). For example, encouragement of competitiveness between males is claimed to preclude trust and openness. A proposed source of such attitudes, is boys' need to separate and differentiate themselves from their primary attachment figure, namely their mother, in order to develop their identity (Gilligan, 1982). It is suggested that in contrast, girls' development is based on fusion with her primary attachment figure. This is claimed to lead to girls identity being based on connection with other people, such that it is threatened by separation. In contrast, since the male identity is based on separation, it is threatened by intimacy. The differing emphasis on separation and connectedness is claimed to resurface during adolescence in relation to identity and intimacy. (Gilligan, 1982).

Finally, it is worth noting that gender differences in identity and intimacy development may reflect underlying biological factors. For example, high levels of testosterone in males and some females (Dyk & Adams, 1990). Females with higher than normal levels of testosterone have described themselves as self-directed and action and goal oriented (associated with male identity), whereas women with lower levels described themselves in more traditional terms, related to caring and nurturing (Baucom, Besch, & Callahan, 1985). While these are interesting results, questions relating to the impact of other variables and the direction of causality remain unanswered. However, these findings do highlight the need to consider biological, as well as psychological and social variables, when examining gender differences in the ability to attain intimacy.

Sex and Intimacy

The Relationship Between Sex and Intimacy.

It has been proposed that the desire to attain intimacy is one, but by no means the only, important motivation for people engaging in sexual behaviour (Nuebeck, 1974). This is not surprising, given that the physical closeness of sexual behaviour could easily be mistaken for emotional intimacy. Indeed, for those already in an intimate relationship, sexual contact is often seen as affirmation of the bond that exists between partners (Weiss, 1982). It has been proposed that this contact confirms the partners accessibility, a critical feature of an intimate relationship. Accessibility is also considered a vital component of early attachment bonds (Bowlby, 1973). Thus, for some, sex may be a means of affirming current intimate relationships, while for others, it appears to be a means of attaining intimacy. For a third group, sex and intimacy are apparently two distinct entities (Waring et al., 1980). Coverage of the relationship between these two constructs in this section is necessarily superficial. In the following section a more thorough consideration will be given to the issue of sex as a substitute for intimacy.

While intimacy does not necessarily involve, sex, men (or at least heterosexual men) tend to report intimacy only in cross-sex situations (Aukett et al., 1988; Roscoe, Kennedy, & Pope, 1985). This suggests that a strong association between sex and intimacy exists for them. Surprisingly, it has been found that sex and intimacy are more closely associated for women (Patton & Waring, 1985). For example, their level of sexual satisfaction was found to be closely related to their perception of the total intimacy of a relationship. In contrast, husbands are more likely to see their sexual relationship as a separate component of their marital relationship. These different perceptions of the association between sex and intimacy are reflected in the finding that husbands tended to be more satisfied with their sexual relationship than wives (Patton & Waring, 1985).

Despite the above results, overall, sexuality was found to have the lowest correlation with total intimacy, compared to other factors such as compatibility, commitment, expressiveness and, consistent with Eriksonian theory, autonomy (Waring & Patton, 1985). Thus, sex was found to be an important factor in intimacy, but was not as central as had previously been suggested (Waring et al., 1980). Freud, for example, proposed that intimacy is defined by the ability to have mutually orgasmic genital sex (Franz & White, 1985). The more recent findings suggest that sex is important in defining an intimate relationship, but only in the context of commitment and affection, rather than in terms of actual sexual behaviour.

Unfortunately this is not necessarily reflected by the entertainment industry, which often presents sex as one, if not the primary element of intimate relationships.

The above results need to be interpreted with care however, as the majority of data was collected from predominantly white and middle class married couples. It is likely that perceptions of the association between sex and intimacy are different for other groups. There is some indication of this, in the finding that sexuality was more important for the younger group in the samples of the studies cited above (Waring et al., 1980). This is consistent with the results of a study of adolescents, which found physical/sexual interaction was regarded as an important feature of intimate relationships by both males and females (Roscoe et al., 1987). However, males reported sex as important more frequently than females. The inclusion of physical/sexual interaction as important by this group, apparently contradicts Erikson's (1968) proposal that sex is not necessarily a defining characteristic of intimate relationships. It may be however that this finding indicates something about these adolescents' level of identity formation. That is, their identity may not be fully developed, such that sex is used as a means of gaining a sense of identity.

Whatever is the case, the above results indicate that sex may be more closely

associated with intimacy in some sections of the population than others. For some this may be seen as healthy, for example, women seeing sex and intimacy as closely related. For others it may not be so adaptive, for example young people, and others who see sex as the primary aspect of intimacy, or who use it as a means of identity reinforcement. These latter groups are likely to more readily confuse the relationship between sex and intimacy, as may others who fail to see sex within the context of a committed and affectionate relationship. For example, those with a propensity for coercive or aggressive sexual behaviour who see sex as a means of reinforcing their masculine identity (Marshall, 1989b). These points will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

Finally, when looking at the relationship between sex and intimacy, it is informative to consider consenting relationships where sexual connection apparently involves no intimacy. The so called sexual revolution of the 1960's and 70's is likely to have contributed to acceptance of physical gratification as the sole motivation for sexual activity. In relation to this view, a popular distinction has been made between relational and recreational sex (Cobliner, 1988). The former is seen as taking place within an ongoing relationship, while the latter refers to casual encounters primarily focused on physical gratification. It is likely that the advent of AIDS has led to a decrease in recreational sex, and possibly, an increased focus on non-sexual aspects of intimate relationships.

Despite the encouragement of "free love" by some sections of society in the 1960's and 70's, and the apparent popularity of recreational sex, it is suggested that suppressing intimacy actually decreases the level of satisfaction gained from sex (Cobliner, 1988). This is claimed to lead to frustration if intimacy is in fact desired, and ultimately, to hinder, a proposed natural tendency to seek and maintain attachments. It should be noted however, that Cobliner's data was taken from an adolescent sample, whose avoidance of intimacy may have been motivated by the fear of threats to relatively fragile identities. Therefore, this apparent desire for sex

without intimacy may not be shared by mature adults with well developed self concepts. It may however, be shared by those who have not developed a robust sense of self.

Interestingly, it was found that women were less overwhelmed by the lack of intimate connection in recreational sex than men. This may be a result of women having their need for intimacy fulfilled in relationships with other women (Aukett et al., 1988; Cobliner, 1988). In addition, it is possible that men are more overwhelmed by non-intimate sexual relationships, as they subconsciously seek intimacy through them, and are distressed when they do not achieve it. These assertions apparently contradict the findings of Waring and his colleagues (e.g., Waring & Patton, 1985) that women tend not to separate sex and intimacy while men do. This apparent distinction may merely be a reflection of the younger age and different marital status of Cobliner's subjects. It may also reflect a difference between what men say they think and feel, and what they actually do think and feel, as well as lack of awareness of the motives for their behaviour.

Sex as an Intimacy Substitute.

It seems that sex is used as a substitute for intimacy (Marshall, 1989a), despite attachment being a better basis for a relationship (Weiss, 1982). The seeking of intimacy through sexual gratification alone is suggested to be futile, as intimacy cannot be achieved in the absence of trust and commitment. In addition it is proposed that satisfaction is likely to wane if sex is not accompanied by intimacy, as once desire reaches a minimal level sexual contact will be sought elsewhere (Marshall, 1989a). Those who substitute sex for intimacy are likely to display high levels of sexual behaviour, and possibly seek to expand their range of sexual activity in order to maintain interest.

In some cases this propensity, in combination with other key factors, can

lead to an escalation of sexual behaviour, culminating in inappropriate sexual activity (Longo & Groth, 1983; Marshall, 1989a). Marshall (1989a) has hypothesized that sex offenders seek intimacy almost exclusively through sexual interactions. This searching is maintained in part by physical gratification and apparent intimacy, but ultimately results in dissatisfaction. The search for intimacy through sex may be more salient for some types of offenders than for others. For example, child molesters appear to be more sexually motivated than rapists (Knight & Prentky, 1990; Marshall, Earls, Segal, & Darke, 1983).

In some cases using sex as a means of coping with lack of intimacy may be linked to an individuals' underdeveloped sense of identity. It has been suggested that during adolescence, especially for males, sexual activity often has more to do with the development of identity and boosting self-esteem than intimacy (Marshall, 1989b; Schmidt, 1982). This is certainly consistent with assertions that forceful sex with both adults and children serves to confer on the offender a sense of power and masculinity (Groth, 1979a; Marshall, 1989b).

Obviously seeking identity through sex is more true for some individuals than others, as not everyone with an underdeveloped identity or inability to attain intimacy, tries to address the problem through sexual aggression. One factor suggested to predispose individuals to confusing sex and intimacy, is the experience of sexual abuse during childhood (Marshall, 1989a). It is proposed that neglected insecurely attached children may be likely to see sexual abuse as relatively attractive, given that the abuse is likely to be the only form of intimate contact that they experience. Even though the relationship is abusive, an association between sex and intimacy may be established. The strength of the association will obviously be mediated by other factors, such as whether or not the child is physically abused. There is indirect support for the above hypothesis from reports that males sexually abused as children have problems with sexual compulsiveness and masculine identity confusion (Dimock, 1988).

There seems to be little direct evidence of men actually mistaking sex for intimacy, in fact, their separating sex and intimacy may be seen as a contra-indication of this. However, there is support for the assertion that some men substitute sexual behaviour for intimacy, perhaps unconsciously. It may be that what is actually being sought is only one aspect of intimacy, for example a basic form of attachment, or dependency. In relation to this it is interesting to note that a clinical sample of males (referred for relationship problems and/or general psychiatric problems) did not spontaneously cite autonomy as important for intimacy (Waring et al., 1980). When asked directly the clinical sample agreed that autonomy is important, but to a lesser degree than non-clinical individuals.

An important mediating factor in the development and maintenance of distorted beliefs about sex and sexual relationships is pornography. This variable, which has been shown to have significant links with sexual offending (e.g., Murrin & Laws, 1990) is discussed in detail in the following section.

Pornography.

Pornography literally means writings about prostitution (Zillman & Bryant, 1989). However, it is more generally defined as sexually explicit material designed to arouse the sexual interest of the user. While such a definition is generally acceptable, there is dispute over finer distinctions between different types of sexually explicit material. Recently a useful tripartite distinction has been made which classifies such material as: (a) sexually violent pornography; (b) nonviolent dehumanizing pornography, and (c) nonviolent erotica (Check, & Guloien, 1989).

There is also debate regarding the exact impact of pornography on the user, with some claiming a direct link to increases in sex crimes, while others suggest pornography may be a harmless means of sexual gratification

(Kelley, Dawson, & Musialowski, 1989). Important methodological issues become apparent here, for example, the need to be specific when defining pornography, both in terms of its content and degree of explicitness. This is extremely important as different groups (e.g., of sex offenders) are likely to respond to different types of pornography (Marshall, 1989b). It is also apparent that some types of offending are more reliant on pornography for their maintenance than others (Marshall, 1988). In relation to these issues it is apparent that evaluating the impact of pornography on one group (e.g., convicted rapists) by studying another group (e.g. university students) has limitations (Murrin & Laws, 1990).

Another important factor to consider is the extent to which an individual uses pornographic material, for example, habitual consumers appear to be more at risk for developing callous attitudes towards women than less frequent users (Zillman, 1989). Regular users have also been found to be more accepting of rape myths and violence against women, and were more likely to endorse an adversarial view of sexual relations (Check & Guloien, 1989). It is also apparent that habitual use of pornography is likely to have a satiating effect, which may lead to a need for less common forms of pornography and possibly deviant sexual practices (Zillman, 1989).

Despite the debate over the exact impact of pornography, numerous studies have linked the viewing of sexually explicit material, especially of a violent type, to increases in the expression of aggressive attitudes and behaviour (e.g. Donnerstein, 1984; Kelley, 1985). In a comparison study it was found that viewing sexually violent or nonviolent dehumanizing pornographic material contributed to negative attitudes, such as acceptance of coercive sex (Check & Guloien, 1989). In contrast, viewing erotic material had no such effect, in fact there are indications that it may contribute to a decrease in sexual callousness.

Pornography is claimed to facilitate aggression by providing males with self-

serving beliefs about female sexuality, which are claimed to promote callous attitudes toward women (Zillman and Weaver, 1989). It is suggested that even pornography which does not contain explicit scenes of sexual violence contributes to the development of such attitudes, through the dehumanization of women (Check & Guloien, 1989). These authors note that dehumanization of victims facilitates acts of cruelty and negates feelings of sympathy. Thus, pornography can be seen as contributing to the acceptance of rape and child abuse, as well as to the trivialization of these crimes' victims (Zillman, 1989).

Further damage is done by portrayal of woman as being ready to cater to men's every whim, and as instantly sexually responsive, even to brutal stimulation. Unrealistic expectations promoted by pornography are likely to inhibit the establishment of intimate relationships based on openness and mutuality, as they provide no indication of the need for this type of interaction. In addition, pornography has been found to lead to devaluation of marriage, and to lessening satisfaction with partners' physical appearance and sexual performance (Zillman, 1989). Given pornography's presentation of unrealistic images of sexual relationships, it is not surprising that some rapists hope their victim may appreciate what they have done and want to form a relationship (Goth, 1979a; Marshall, 1989a).

A major problem is that the distorted messages of pornography are received by individuals in an exciting and gratifying context, that is, when they are sexually aroused (Marshall, 1989b). This is claimed to lead to such messages being more readily assimilated, particularly by young males lacking the skills or confidence to initiate and maintain satisfying relationships (Marshall, 1989b). These individuals are likely to be very emotionally needy, and given that the normal means of sociosexual development may not be open to them, are more likely to use pornography regularly.

Several researchers have noted that the majority of adult sex offenders report that their deviant sexual arousal, and/or deviant behaviour towards

children, began in adolescence (e.g., Longo, 1982). Sex offenders and normals do not differ greatly in their initial interest in pornography, but most non-offenders tend to out-grow it. In contrast those that go on to offend increasingly rely on pornography for sexual satisfaction (Murrin & Laws, 1990). This difference may be a result of normal adolescents and young adults developing relationships with agemates. These are likely decrease their reliance on pornography for sociosexual development and sexual gratification, and contribute to the development of appropriate sexual attitudes and behaviours.

While a certain level of pornography use may contribute to the onset and maintenance of sexual offending, it is neither necessary nor sufficient. Sexual arousal does not on its own lead to offending, it must coincide with disinhibiting factors, such as callous attitudes to women. In fact it has been suggested that antisocial/deviant fantasies may actually prevent offending through cathartic relief from unrealizable desires (Crepault and Couture, 1980; Kelley et al, 1989). However, this assertion needs further investigation, as such fantasies may provide the basis for deviant sexual behaviour.

An area that is largely ignored in the literature is the damage done by pornography's portrayal of men as being solely concerned with sexual gratification, and having no need for intimacy. This is likely to contribute to both men and women developing potentially damaging expectations. While women are portrayed as "panting playthings" (Brownmiller, 1975), men are presented as orgasm driven sex machines of unlimited potency. Such portrayals are likely to contribute to the myth that men need nothing more than a vessel into which they can ejaculate. Equally, if not more damaging is pornography's promotion of the belief that men have a natural tendency towards coerciveness and aggression in sexual situations (Murrin & Laws, 1990; Zillman, 1989). Such attitudes are likely to obscure the fact that in most relationships more than sexual satisfaction is desired, and therefore further impede the attainment of intimacy.

It needs to be noted that it is not only pornographic material that is potentially damaging. Comparisons of general adult and pornographic videos surprisingly showed the latter to be less violent (Palys, 1986). Pornographic videos were also found to portray more egalitarian relationships between men and women. The gap between the two is suggested to be widening, with pornographic videos becoming relatively less violent as a result of an increased concern about their effects (Palys, 1986).

General adult movies containing sexually explicit material may actually be more damaging than pornographic movies, as they present sex in a broader everyday context. Given the time limits in general adult movies, it is not surprising that producers focus on the most exciting aspects of sex. Unfortunately this leads to inaccurate portrayal of sexual relationships. The unrealistic expectations generated by any kind of adult video or film, is likely to further limit interpersonally impaired individuals' ability to establish and maintain intimate relationships. It seems that attention now needs to be focused on more readily available material, which increasingly contains themes of violence and male domination, as well as unrealistic portrayals of male and female sexuality.

Finally, it is important to recognize an individual's responses to pornography is mediated by personality features. For some, sexually explicit material may provide relatively non-damaging pleasure, as other factors inhibit any tendency to behave in deviant ways. For others exposure to such stimuli may contribute to the initiation and maintenance of harmful deviant behaviour. Thus, it is not the material itself that is of primary importance, but rather consideration of the people who use it, and the cultural context in which they do so (Murrin & Laws, 1990). Behaviour is multi-determined, such that, pornography is only part of the etiological puzzle of sexual offending. It does however appear to be an important contributor to the high level of sexual aggression in western societies.

The Prevalence of Sexual Aggression.

A study of New Zealand undergraduate female university students revealed a high level of sexual victimization (51.6%) and rape, or attempted rape (25.3%) (Gavey, 1991). This level of prevalence is almost identical to that of a sample of American female university students (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). It was noted that most of the sexual aggression took place within the context of a relationship, perpetrated either by a current or ex-partner (Gavey, 1991; Koss et al., 1987).

It is important to note that in both studies samples were not representative, and therefore, preclude definitive statements about the prevalence of sexual aggression in the general population. They do however provide strong evidence that the problem of sexual aggression in New Zealand is far greater than suggested by the previous research (Mullen, Romans-Clarkson, Walton, & Herbison (1988).

Research has also provided strong evidence of a high incidence of child sexual abuse both in New Zealand and in other countries. A recent New Zealand study suggests that approximately 38 % of girls and 12% of boys experience at least one incident of unwanted sexual touching before the age of 16 (Saphira, 1987). While such a definition of sexual abuse may be claimed to inflate reports of sexual abuse, these figures are not inconsistent with those from other countries, for example, the United States (27% for girls and 16% for boys) (Finkelhor et al., 1990).

The myth that aggressiveness and a desire to overcome the sexual object is a natural part of male sexuality, is likely to contribute to high rates of sexually abusive behaviour (Zillman & Weaver, 1989). As mentioned above, pornography promotes such myths. However, the fact that most men do not rape suggests that sexual aggression is learned and controllable, rather than "wired in" and unavoidable (Zillman & Weaver, 1989). It is more likely that the socialization of some males provides the basis for the development of callous sexual attitudes towards women and potential for

the use of coercive strategies in sexual contexts (Mosher & Anderson, 1986).

It could be argued that there is evolutionary justification for men impregnating as many women as possible in order to perpetuate their genes. "A male assignment to seek and conquer" (Zillman & Weaver, 1989, p. 96) may be viewed as a natural consequence of this evolutionarily selected for tendency. This apparent tendency for male sexual aggression appears to be sanctioned by many cultures, especially those characterized by patriarchal ideologies (Sanday, 1981). Such cultures have been described as rape-prone. While extreme attitudes are diminishing in some sections of society, high levels of rape-proneness, facilitated by acceptance of interpersonal violence, are still apparent (Murring & Laws, 1990). A relationship between pornography consumption and sex crimes is suggested by these authors, who link liberalisation of pornography laws with increases in sex offending. Increasing violence and sexually explicit material in general movies is also likely to contribute to increases in sex crimes (Palys, 1986). However, care needs to be taken when interpreting findings such as these, given that correlation does not necessarily indicate causation.

Also, care needs to be taken when comparing the incidence of sex crimes in different cultures. Groth (1979a) for example, has compared the rate of rape in countries such as China and in Islamic nations with the rate in western countries. In the former countries punishment for rapists tends to be prompt and severe, while in western countries there tends to be more ambivalence towards rape. It is not clear however, that all rape is reported in China and Islamic countries (Murrin & Laws, 1990). In fact, it is likely that this crime is under reported, given that in these countries women may be worse off if they do report the rape. In addition to being blamed, public acknowledgement of sexual experience, even forced, is likely to damage social standing.

However, consistent with assertions about the rape-proneness of western

cultures, the use of coercive strategies (e.g., lying, threatening to end a relationship, and varying degrees of physical force) to obtain sex has been found to be common in American samples (Gray, Lesser, Rebach, Hooks, & Bounds, 1988; Kanin, 1985). The latter author also found that alcohol and drugs were frequently used to decrease women's resistance to having sex. In addition, it is suggested that consent to touch or engage in "heavy petting" is often seen as consent to full intercourse, and restrictions set thereafter are likely to be ignored (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987).

The above work relates most directly to rape, however, the attitudes to sex and women which facilitate rape, may be generalized to children and also contribute to the commission of child molestation. It seem that for a variety of reasons (e.g., deviant arousal to children), certain offenders do not target adult women as victims. Some of these reasons will be consider in the next chapter.

Summary

Intimacy is usefully seen as a cognitive mediating variable involving appraisal of key areas of a relationships. Evaluation of these key aspects is thought to facilitate interpretation and prediction of behaviour in interpersonal contexts. The measurement of intimacy is fraught with difficulty, however, examination of this area is vital for the explication of the impact of early attachment experiences on adult relationships. A broad definition of intimacy, encompassing facets such as self-disclosure, commitment, and affection, appears to allow the most thorough investigation of this area.

The development of intimate relationships appears to be closely associated with the establishment of a firm sense of self. Expansion of Erikson's developmental stage theory has facilitated consideration of the ways in which this association may differ for individuals, especially with regard to gender. This in turn has allowed greater understanding of factors which contribute to males and females apparently differing ability to initiate and sustain intimate relationships.

Gender differences are apparent when the relationship between intimacy and sex is considered. For a notable portion of men, and some women, sex seems to be equated with, or serves as a substitute for, intimacy. The seeking of intimacy through sex is promoted by pornography's unrealistic portrayal of sexual relationships. This confusion in combination with other factors, such as societal promotion of male domination, may contribute to high rates of sex offending.

CHAPTER FOUR: LONELINESS

Conceptualization

Definition.

One of the major sequelae of failure to initiate or maintain intimate relationships is the experience of loneliness. This chapter considers conceptual issues related to this phenomenon and examines the characteristics of lonely people, with particular reference to those who are likely to commit sex offences.

Loneliness has been described as the unpleasant feelings experienced when a person lacks satisfying social relationships (Peplau & Perlman, 1982). This deficit may or may not be apparent to others. Thus, loneliness is not defined by the frequency or duration of social contact, but rather in terms of a person's satisfaction with such interactions. Loneliness has also been defined from an attachment perspective, as separation distress without an object (Weiss, 1973). It is suggested that in order to understand the phenomenon of loneliness, it is necessary to understand the function of the attachment system in both adults and children (Weiss, 1989). Consistent with attachment theory's concept of a hierarchy of attachment figures, it is possible that experience of loneliness will be a result of deficiencies in a variety of relationships.

Two distinct causes of loneliness have been proposed by Peplau and Perlman (1982). The first consists of events that precipitate the onset of loneliness, such as the death of a loved one or the dissolution of a relationship. In addition to actual changes in circumstances, this causal class includes changes in social needs or desires, as well as changes in the opportunity to have these met. There is agreement that such events lead to loneliness, however, theoretical debate continues regarding causal pathways.

The second causal class encompasses the personal and situational factors which predispose a person to loneliness. For example lonely people have been found to be shy, lack self-esteem and show unwillingness to take social risks (Spitzberg & Hurt, 1989). However, it tends to be the perception of inadequacies, rather than actual deficits that increase proneness to loneliness. Cultural and situational factors are also included in this class. For example, the promotion of competitiveness by many societies is suggested to conflict with the need for intimacy. Spitzberg and Hurt (1989) propose that greater consideration of situational factors is needed, in order to redress the overestimation of the importance of personal factors.

Three different approaches are commonly taken to the study of loneliness (Peplau & Perlman, 1982). The first posits an innate need for intimacy, and suggests that relationships must satisfy inherent social needs or loneliness will be experienced. This approach emphasizes the affective aspect of loneliness, and suggests that people do not necessarily have to be aware that they are lonely.

A second approach focuses on the role of cognitions in the experience of loneliness. Specifically, this approach considers an individual's perception of their ability to initiate and maintain interpersonal contact, as well as their evaluation of the adequacy of current relationships. The emphasis on the evaluation of social relationships, suggests cognitive processes are of central importance for mediating the intensity of the experience of loneliness. The cognitive approach considers those who label themselves as lonely, rather than those who may be classified as lonely, but do not consider themselves to be so.

Finally, a third approach suggests social relationships represent a class of reinforcer, such that the level of an individual's interpersonal needs depends on their reinforcement history (Young, 1982). From this perspective loneliness is experienced when inadequate amounts of reinforcement

are gained. Obviously, assessment of the adequacy of reinforcement involves evaluation of one's relationships, suggesting that cognitive processes are important. However, unlike the previous approach, theorists taking this stance consider symptoms without self-labelling sufficient evidence of loneliness. This final approach appears to be most useful as it allows consideration of the critical aspects of loneliness (i.e., cognitive processes), as well as acknowledging that people are not always fully aware of their condition.

Consideration of cognitive processes, especially those relating to causal attribution, seems essential in the study of loneliness. This is indicated by findings that self perceived competence is much more highly correlated to loneliness than level of interpersonal skills, as assessed by an observer (Spitzberg & Hurt, 1989). While individuals perception need to be accounted for, it is apparent that people are not always aware of the rules that guide their evaluations. Thus, it is important to consider the possibility that individuals are not fully conscious of their loneliness, or its causes.

Types of Loneliness.

Whatever approach is taken, it needs to account for the fact that the experience of loneliness may vary in a number of ways. A three dimensional model of loneliness has been proposed by de Jong-Gierveld and Raadschelders (1982). This model allows consideration of three central factors: the emotional characteristics of loneliness, the type of relational deprivation, and the duration of the experience.

The first dimension relates to the relative positive or negative nature of of the experience of loneliness. This is defined in a very broad sense which encompasses both metaphysical and physical aspects. This dimension has a largely philosophical base, and refers to distinction between being alone at a metaphysical level and being alone at subjective level. Thus far, this

dimension appears to have been largely ignored by researchers, who have emphasized the subjective aspects of loneliness (de Jong-Gierveld & Raadschelders, 1982). While this aspect of loneliness may be seen as belonging to the realm of philosophy, consideration of the degree of negativity of the experience of loneliness is important. This is already done indirectly to some extent when considering other aspects of experience, such as its duration. However more explicit consideration of the meaning of the experience of loneliness would be useful.

More thorough consideration has been given to types of relational deprivation, with a distinction being made between emotional and social loneliness (Russell, Cutrona, Rose, & Yurko, 1984; Weiss, 1973). The former is characterized by the absence of close emotional attachment and can only be remedied by the replacement, or reinstatement of the lost attachment figure. Feelings of emptiness and utter aloneness are said to accompany this type of loneliness. Social isolation is characterized by the absence of an accessible social network. This type of loneliness is relatively easily countered, by gaining access to a social network. Feelings associated with this state include boredom, aimlessness, and marginality. It has been suggested that social loneliness may be a secondary consequence of emotional loneliness (Andersson, 1986).

The distinction between these two types of loneliness has been useful in a number of areas. For example, it was found that emotional loneliness tended to be associated with depression, while social isolation tended to be associated with anxiety (Russell et al., 1984). These authors suggest that social loneliness may be seen as having more to do with vulnerability than actual loss. Also, it has been suggested that young people are more likely than the elderly to suffer from emotional loneliness, but it is not clear whether the same is true of social isolation (Weiss, 1989).

Finally the experience of loneliness can may be classified in terms of its duration (Young, 1982). Chronic loneliness is proposed to evolve over a

period of years, during which the individual is unable to develop satisfying relationships. Serious problems related to early attachment experiences are more likely to be associated with chronic or trait loneliness (Shaver & Hazan, 1989). In contrast, situational loneliness usually follows a major negative life event, such as the loss of a spouse, and generally involves only a relatively brief period of distress. Finally, transient loneliness refers to short episodes of loneliness which are relatively common in the general population.

Characteristics of Lonely People

Introduction

Just as the experience of loneliness may be characterized according to several variables, so may lonely people. Several studies have identified various personality features which seem to differentiate lonely from non-lonely people (e.g., Jones, Freeman, & Goswick, 1981; Jones, Hobbs, & Hockenbury, 1982). These can be broadly described as characteristics which reduce the probability of being able to form satisfactory interpersonal connections. General features common to lonely people are briefly discussed in this section, while those most relevant to the current study, namely social skills, negative cognitive style, and hostility, are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

It is likely that the personality features of lonely people reflect internal working models of relationships originating from early attachment experiences. Support for this assertion comes from research which has revealed a correlation between attachment style and loneliness (Shaver & Hazen, 1989). In this study secure individuals were least lonely and anxious-ambivalent subjects the most lonely, with those reporting an avoidant attachment falling in between. Both insecure groups reported themselves as being lonely, however, the anxious-ambivalent group seemed less isolated than the avoidant group. The former group was also more hopeful of not being lonely in the future. Loneliness has also been shown to be negatively correlated with self-esteem (Rubenstein & Shaver, 1982). This may be seen as an inevitable aspect of a negative model of oneself, based on unsatisfactory attachment related experiences. In relation to this, lonely people tend to have a self-blaming attributional style which leaves them vulnerable to a range of chronic negative feelings (Lunt, 1991; Michela, Peplau, & Weeks, 1982).

Studies have also found loneliness to be correlated with poor parent child relationships and parental divorce, especially where the divorce occurred

early in the subject's life (Shaver & Rubenstein, 1980). It has also been found that lonely adolescents tend to come from families devoid of emotional nurturance and support (Brennan, 1982).

There is also some evidence that lonely individuals are more susceptible to physical illness, and it is also apparent that in some cases illness, including psychiatric disorders (e.g., Panic Attacks, Depression), may precipitate loneliness (Check et al., 1985). In relation to this, it has been found that intimacy is negatively correlated with the presence, and severity, of non-psychotic emotional illness (Waring et al., 1980; Waring, 1984).

Of special interest to the current study is the finding that the amount of time spent with females is inversely related to loneliness, for both men and women (Wheeler, Reis, & Nezlek, 1983). It has been proposed that this is result of females being socialized to respond to others in sensitive and responsive ways (Shaver & Hazan, 1989). This is certainly consistent with research finding that indicate relationships with women are potentially therapeutic for both sexes (Aukett et al., 1988). These findings have clear implications for individuals who lack interpersonal skills, and are predisposed to offending sexually against both women and children.

Social Skills Deficits.

There is considerable evidence to support a link between deficits in certain social skills and loneliness (e.g., Jones et al., 1981, 1982; Sloan & Solano, 1984; Solano, Batten, & Parrish, 1982). Suggested areas of deficit include inappropriate self-disclosure, lack of attention to the interpersonal interaction, and negative judgements of self and others. However, it is apparent that the relationship between social skills deficits and loneliness is not straight forward. For example, 'intimates' have been found to be more positive in their disclosures than 'non-intimates', but not necessarily more personal (Prager, 1986).

One of the major problems in this area is in defining social skills. A two tiered, three component model proposed by McFall (1982, 1990) provides a useful framework for examination of interpersonal skills. This model presents social competence as a superordinate construct, which is considered an aspect of a person's task performance, rather than an attribute of the person. That is, the level of social competence is judged within a particular context by the individual or significant others. Thus, competence is not absolute, but rather dependent on the context and those who judge it.

Social skills are seen as underlying components which allow an individual to perform a task. McFall (1982, 1990) has organized the skill components in a sequential three stage system. The first component (Decoding Skills) involves the interpretation of incoming information, for example social cues. The second stage (Decision Skills) is devoted to generating behavioural options for the situation. Finally, the third component (Enactment Skills) is focused on the actual skills required to implement and evaluate the options generated at the second stage. Considering interpersonal interaction within this framework allows more detailed exploration of areas of deficit.

This model suggests that it is not only lack of specific skills that is problematic, but also deficits in general processes, including those of a cognitive nature. For example, self-disclosure problems seem to be related to evaluating the appropriateness of disclosure, rather than the presence or absence of self-disclosure per se. That is, the major problems are at the levels of encoding and decision making, rather than enactment of the behaviour. Such deficits may be seen as relating to inadequate internal working models of relationship, therefore it is useful to consider their association with early attachment experiences.

Recently a link between attachment history and social skills deficits, has been indicated in the area of self-disclosure (Mikulincer & Nachshon, 1991).

Individuals described as secure and anxious-ambivalent were found to disclose more information to, and feel better interacting with, a high disclosing partner. The difference between secure and anxious-ambivalent subjects was that the latter were more like avoidant subjects, with respect to their lack of flexibility in disclosure and lack of topical reciprocity.

A further difference between the secure and anxious-ambivalent groups was related to motivation for disclosing. Specifically, it was proposed that anxious-ambivalent subjects saw the self-disclosure process as a means of merging with another, and gaining some sort of security (Mikulincer & Nachshon, 1991). Their liking of high disclosers may have been due to their seeing the other person's action as indicative of them being liked. In contrast, secure individuals' liking of high disclosers was suggested to be less selfish and compulsive. In contrast to secure and anxious-ambivalent individuals, avoidant subjects' self-disclosure and liking was not affected by their partners disclosure.

It is likely that deficits in social skills resulting from insecure attachment are exacerbated during adolescence. This seems especially salient in the area of sociosexual development, as individuals lacking social skills are likely to have difficulty securing appropriate sexual outlets (Jones et al., 1981).

Consistent with such assertions, several authors have reported that adolescent sex offenders have difficulty maintaining close interpersonal relations and are isolated from peers (Blask et al., 1989; Davis & Leitenberg, 1987; Fehrenbach & Monastersky, 1988). This experience is likely to provide the basis for isolation in adulthood, and to create a need to attain intimacy in inappropriate ways (e.g., by molesting children). These findings should be interpreted with some caution however, as the validity of some of this data is questionable. For example, the mothers of subjects in Blask et al.'s (1989) sample seemed to lack acceptance of their sons' friendships, which may have led to inaccurate reporting.

There may be methodological problems with some studies of adolescent sex

offenders, however there is fairly clear evidence of social skills deficits in adult offenders. It is also apparent that the nature of these deficits vary from offender type to offender type, and over time and place. For example, although rapists have been found to be generally more socially competent than child molesters (e.g., Segal & Marshall, 1985), they tended to have had significantly more problems at school (e.g., attendance and discipline problems) (Bard et al, 1987). However, they were also found to be more involved with peers than child molesters, indicating different levels of skill in different situations, (i.e., relating to peers versus relating to authority figures).

Such variation in social skills is also apparent in adult rapists. In general rapists have been found not to differ from incarcerated controls in terms of social skills (Segal & Marshall, 1985). However they have been found to be deficient in particular areas, for example interpreting cues from women not known to them (Lipton, McDonel, & McFall, 1987). This deficiency was found to be especially apparent when the cues were negative. In such situations the callous attitudes toward women evidenced by rapists (Lipton et al, 1987), in combination with other factors, may facilitate offending.

It is likely that individuals predisposed to committing rape will receive these negative cues in situations where they have consumed alcohol or some other drug. There is a high probability of this, as individuals lacking social skills often use such substances to facilitate social interaction. In such a context rape-prone individuals may be less likely to restrain sexual and violent urges. There is some support for these propositions from findings that alcohol tends to increase male propensity for, sexual aggression (Gray et al., 1988). Further, a large portion of inmates (92%) described as sexually dangerous were found to abuse alcohol and/or other drugs (Bard et al., 1987). In this sample, compared to child molesters, rapists were more frequently noted for using alcohol, and were reported as being more likely to act out while drinking.

Child molesters as a group have been found to be more heterosocially inadequate than rapists and controls (Lipton et al, 1987; Segal & Marshall, 1985). This is certainly consistent with fixated child molesters' primary orientation to children. It seems that this group almost always turns to children to have social and sexual needs met. However, the fact that many child molesters are in relatively stable relationships suggests the presence, in at least some of these offenders, of a reasonable level of interpersonal skills. It may be that it is only in times of stress that these relatively more socially skilled child molesters turn to children to have their sexual/intimacy needs met. That is, when they lose confidence in their ability to deal with adult females these regressed child molesters turn to less threatening substitutes. These assertions are of course highly speculative, and require further investigation. In general, the etiological implications of rapists and child molesters heterosocial inadequacies are unclear. However, it seems that addressing these issues is important for maintenance of non-offending following release from prison (Segal & Marshall, 1985).

While loneliness is primarily a subjective experience it does lead to some degree of observable deterioration in social skills. However, despite the fact that loneliness is often associated with skills deficits, these are not consistently apparent to others (Jones et al, 1981). This suggests that the experience of loneliness is not solely due to skills deficits, but also to some sort of negative perception on the part of lonely individuals. The nature of these negative cognitions is considered in the following section.

Negative Cognitive Style.

There is little evidence to indicate that the important deficits for lonely people are in the area of actual interpersonal skills (Jones et al., 1981, 1982). It has been proposed that deficits in social skills are in fact a consequence of loneliness rather than a cause (Spitzberg & Hurt, 1989). Therefore, it seems most useful to investigate the cognitive processes which characterize isolated individuals, as an attributional approach does. This approach

assumes that less interpersonally skilled people are prone to negative self fulfilling attributions, which maintain loneliness and lead to low levels of competence in social interactions. In this way a negative self-fulfilling cycle involving biased, self-defeating perceptions and evaluations of interactions is set up (Jones et al., 1982).

This attributional approach to loneliness is supported by several sets of research data, including those which suggest significant differences between lonely and non-lonely individuals on trait competence variables (i.e., the persons stable view of themselves) (Spitzberg & Hurt, 1989). Lonely people have also been found to be more negative in their evaluation of potential acquaintances and generally less interested in other people (e.g., Brennan, 1982; Jones et al., 1982). These findings are consistent with suggestions that isolated individuals are more negative about their ability to perform in social situations (Stravynski, Grey, & Elie, 1987). These authors suggest that anxiety relating to self-perceived inadequacies, is a central factor in individuals' lack of ability to perform in interpersonal situations.

The usefulness of an attributional approach to loneliness rests with its consideration of multiple causes of loneliness, including individuals' perceptions and interpretations of situations (Snodgrass, 1989; Spitzberg & Hurt, 1989). Clearly, perception of cause will determine the way in which a person reacts to the experience of loneliness. For example, a situationally lonely person who considers him/herself to have some control over their situation, is likely to seek a solution through interpersonal contact. In contrast, a chronically lonely person is more likely to feel helpless and unable to change their situation leading to a downward spiral. It is likely that as loneliness becomes more chronic, social skills become less adequate, either through lack of use and atrophy, or as a result of motivational deficits (Young, 1982).

Thus, an attributional approach facilitates understanding of how a lonely

person's cognitive processes, and behaviour, change over time. For example, the longer a person is lonely the more their causal attributions tend to shift from external, controllable, unstable, and situational factors, to internal, uncontrollable, stable and chronic causes (Check et al., 1985). Thus, the loneliness cycle becomes more and more difficult to break, as chronically lonely individuals increasingly attribute their loneliness to the latter set of factors and become more isolated (Check et al., 1985; Perlman & Peplau, 1981). Therefore it is useful to consider social skills deficits in terms of the chronicity of loneliness, as certain deficits are likely to be more strongly associated with this state than others (Shaver & Hazan, 1989).

Controllability is an important attributional dimension which is likely to change over time, as loneliness is commonly associated with a belief that one does not have control (Solano, 1989). Lonely individuals seem to ascribe lack of social success to uncontrollable causes, such as the actions of others, luck, and unchangeable aspects of themselves (Cutrona, 1982; Solano, 1989). They also report a significantly lower desire for control than non-lonely people. This may be a result of isolated individuals trying to protect themselves from the unpleasant feelings related to the failure that they see as inevitable (Solano, 1989). This author suggests that if a person expresses little desire for control, failure to exert it will have fewer negative personal implications. Obviously people react to perceived lack of control and loneliness in a variety of ways. For example some may withdraw from social situations, while others are likely to lash out at the perceived cause of their loneliness. This is obviously relevant to sex offenders, some of whom may see women as the source of their loneliness (Check et al., 1985). It is possible that some offenders who target children for sexual abuse are constrained by various factors from focusing their anger and frustration on women.

The latter group's focusing on children may be related to anxiety, and perception of themselves as lacking skills in heterosocial interactions (Segal

& Marshall, 1985). Consistent with an attributional approach to loneliness, these authors suggest that their subjects inadequacies were due to cognitive deficits, rather than inadequate enactment skills. This assertion was supported by the observation of few differences in the behaviour of child molesters compared to other groups, such as rapists. It is likely that rapists' more positive perception of their social abilities, combined with misinterpretation of negative cues from women (Lipton et al., 1987), leads them to make external attributions and react negatively to rebuffs in social situations. Thus, the association between loneliness and aggressive behaviour may be stronger for rapists than child molesters.

Hostility and loneliness.

In a seminal article in this area Zilboorg (1938) proposed that lonely individuals are more hostile and aggressive than non-lonely individuals. More recent work has confirmed this link, for example findings that lonely males tended to administer higher levels of aversive stimuli than non-lonely males in a mock experiment (Check et al., 1985). It has been suggested that the loneliness-hostility association is the result of lack of social skills development (Rubin, 1982). However, Mc Fall's (1982, 1990) model of social competence, and an attributional approach to loneliness suggest that the relationship is not simple. For example, hostility may be seen as not only a consequence, but also a cause of loneliness. That is, depending on the way in which an individual perceives their social inadequacy and how they interpret others reactions to their behaviour. However, it is apparent that not all lonely males respond to the experience with hostility. Those who see their isolation as being out of their control, and caused by another person, are most likely to respond to the experience of loneliness in aggressive ways.

While the relationship between hostility and loneliness is not simple, it does seem clear that one type of loneliness, namely emotional, is more strongly associated with hostile attitudes and behaviour (Check et al., 1985; Perlman & Fehr, 1987; Zilboorg, 1938). Of particular interest with regard to

sex offending is emotionally lonely males' tendency to express more hostility towards women compared to non-lonely males (Check et al., 1985). These individuals also tend to endorse an adversarial view of male-female relationships to a greater degree than non-lonely individuals. While many men express hostile attitudes toward women, not all transform these into aggressive sexual behaviour, and of those who do not all will offend against adults. Therefore, it is apparent that the association between loneliness, hostility and sex offending is mediated by certain factors. For example previous reinforcement for using aggressive coping strategies.

Obvious factors which preclude most lonely men from offending sexually are inhibitory social mores and lack of deviant sexual arousal. Other important factors which may inhibit offending against women, are unassertiveness, and lack of self-efficacy, which are evidenced by many lonely individuals (Bell and Daly, 1985; Perlman & Peplau, 1981; Sloan & Solano, 1984). Lack of assertiveness in combination with other factors, such as deviant arousal, is likely to lead men to sexually abuse children rather than adults. This assertion is consistent with findings that indicate child molesters to be unassertive compared to rapists (Bard et al., 1987; Segal & Marshall, 1985). Rapists in contrast tended to show behavioural excesses and are more likely to be overassertive or explosive. However, the usefulness of distinguishing between these two groups of sex offenders in this way is not clear. For example, in one sample child molesters' and rapists' level of aggressive behaviour was found to be comparable in both offence and non-offence situations (Bard et al., 1987). It may be that the two are different only in certain situations, or that only certain subtypes of child molesters are comparable to rapists. Unfortunately research to date does not allow clear examination of this question.

Finally it is important to note that just as not all lonely men offend sexually, not all rape is motivated or mediated by anger. While anger may play a part in a large portion of sex offending, for some perpetrators sexual motivation

appears to be more salient (Knight & Prentky, 1990; Marshall 1988). Even for those rapists who are motivated predominantly by anger, there are likely be differences in the nature of their hostility. For example, Knight and Prentky (1990) suggest that some rapists are pervasively angry, while others focus their anger only on women. In some cases members of the latter group may eroticize their anger.

Although there is not a straight forward link between loneliness and hostility, it is apparent that this association is an important factor in sex offending. It is encouraging to hear that interventions designed to reduce negative social behaviour associated with loneliness seem to be useful for reducing aggression and violence, particularly against women (Check et al., 1985). The aim of the present study is to further investigate the link between intimacy, loneliness, and sex offending with a view to refining intervention in these areas.

Summary

Work on loneliness has clarified several important dimensions of this construct, notably in distinguishing between emotional and social isolation. The need to consider cognitive and affective aspects of the experience of loneliness, as well as levels of subjective awareness of the condition, has also been demonstrated.

Loneliness research has identified a number of characteristics common to isolated individuals, clarifying distinctions between those which are largely causal, and those which are predominantly consequential. A significant development in this area is the explication of an attributional approach to loneliness. This approach has facilitated more thorough investigation of the phenomenon of loneliness, through consideration of the impact of individuals' subjective evaluation of their situation. Taking an attributional approach to loneliness is assisted by the development of a model of social skills, which allows closer examination of the intricacies of interpersonal interaction. The association between loneliness and aggression has been examined as far back as 1938 by Zilboorg, however, investigation of the relationship between deficits in interpersonal skills, aggression, and sex offending is a more recent undertaking. Because of this infant status, few definite conclusions have been reached in this area.

PART TWO:
THE CURRENT STUDY

CHAPTER FIVE: RATIONALE

Rationale

Work by Bowlby and others in the area of attachment has facilitated understanding of how inadequate attachment contributes to the development of maladaptive internal working models of relationships. The impact of disruption to the attachment process through separation and as a result of dysfunctional family systems, is well recorded. The characteristics of parents and families of criminal offenders have been widely considered.

Three different styles of attachment and associated behaviour, both in infants and caregivers, were identified in the late 1970's. Subsequent work in the area has led to the development of a fourth type of attachment. Recent work has also examined the ways in which early attachment experiences influence the development of adult relationships. Refinement of the concept of the internal working model has the potential to expand empirical investigation in this area.

A broad definition of intimacy, which includes aspects such as mutuality, self-disclosure, and commitment, has allowed clearer understanding of the impact of early attachment on relationships in later life. Further, intimacy has been usefully considered within the developmental framework proposed by Erikson, especially with regard to the development of identity and intimacy. Recent work in these areas has facilitated expansion and refinement of Erikson's original model, for example, in order to account for gender differences in the formation of identity and the development of intimacy.

An association pertinent to the current study is the link between sex and intimacy. The limited literature in this area suggests a complex relationship,

mediated by factors such as gender and age. A more comprehensive literature allows greater understanding of the process by which sex may come to serve as a substitute for intimacy, for example, for perpetrators of sex crimes. Literature in another area central to the current study has furthered understanding of the impact of pornography on individuals' expectations of intimate relationships.

Finally, developments in the area of loneliness, notably explication of an attributional approach which considers the impact of subjective evaluation of a situation, has facilitated more thorough investigation of this phenomenon. Similarly, presentation of a more sophisticated model of social competence has allowed closer examination of the intricacies of social interaction. This model has also facilitated greater understanding of inadequate development in this area. The association between loneliness and aggression is particularly relevant to the present study. Examination of this relationship has helped to clarify the link between deficits in interpersonal skills and some types of sex offending.

Literature from a variety of areas provides insight into how early relational experiences with primary attachment figures may contribute to the development and maintenance of criminal offending, particularly of a sexual nature. The expansion of constructs such as the internal working model of relationships, has facilitated this understanding. Clarification of the association between the development of a sense of self and intimacy has also contributed to this process. Further, developments in the area of loneliness and associated fields, such as social competence, have helped to clarify the link between emotional isolation and aggressive behaviour. Consideration of the link between sex and intimacy suggests ways in which additional variables mediate the link between lack of intimacy, loneliness, and sex offending.

The review of the literature in the preceding chapters provides support for

the assertion that failure to attain intimacy is a potentially important explanatory variable for sex offending. For perpetrators of such crimes, early attachment experiences appear to preclude development of the skills and attitudes necessary for attaining intimacy in adulthood. The resulting experience of loneliness is likely to lead to feelings of anger, which may be expressed in a variety of ways. Isolation and deficits in interpersonal skills combined with other factors, such as deviant sexual arousal, may lead some individuals to attempt to satisfy their need for intimacy with inappropriate partners.

Assessment of the level of intimacy and loneliness experienced by different groups of criminal offenders allows initial evaluation of the significance of these constructs to the commission of sex offences. Further, consideration of these individuals' experience and expression of anger, will facilitates understanding of the role of a mediating variable in the process which is proposed to link lack of intimacy to sex offending. Recent advances in the measurement of anger allows more thorough assessment of this variable.

Hypotheses

The aim of the present study was to investigate the usefulness of the lack of intimacy as a potential explanatory variable for sex offending, by testing the following hypotheses:

1. Compared to violent and non-violent offenders rapists and child molesters will be show lower levels of intimacy as measured by the Waring Intimacy Questionnaire (WIQ).
2. Both groups of sex offenders will report a greater degree of loneliness, as measured by the UCLA Loneliness Scale- Revised (UCLS-R), compared to other offenders.
3. Child molesters will express less anger than rapists, violent and non-violent offenders, but these four groups will not differ in terms of the level of anger experienced.

CHAPTER SIX: METHOD

Participants

Twenty eight men undergoing treatment in the Kia Marama Treatment Unit at Rolleston Prison, Christchurch, agreed to take part in the current study. They had all offended sexually against children and had voluntarily entered the treatment programme. Another sixty men were recruited from Paparua Prison, Christchurch. Participants were selected according to their primary offence type.

All participants were volunteers and signed informed consent forms (See Appendix 1) once the general aims of the study had been explained. While the men at Kia Marama had already signed consent forms relevant to the assessment proposed, further informed consent was sought for their inclusion in the current study. Of the men approached at both institutions 24 (18% of people approached) declined to take part in the study and 17 (13% of people approach) were not included because they had never been in a chabitative relationship.

Participants were classified as belonging to one of four groups: sex offenders with child victims (Child Molesters, n=29), sex offenders with adult victims, that is 16 years or older (Rapists, n=18), violent non-sex offenders (Violent Offenders, n=21), and non-violent non-sex offenders (Non-Violent Offenders, n=20). Group allocation was made on the basis of current and previous offences, that is predominant offence type. Specific criteria for inclusion in the groups are outlined below. For the Rapist and Violent Offender groups preference was given to perpetrators of more serious crimes. For example, rapists were selected over indecent assaulters, and aggravated assaulters over common assaulters.

All but one of members of the Child Molester group were participants in

the Kia Marama treatment programme. Men were not included in this group if they had also offended sexually against adults. Seven men were excluded on these grounds.

The Rapist group was made up of men convicted of having, or attempting to have, non-consenting sexual intercourse with an adult. Men who had also sexually offended against children were excluded, however those with a history of non-sexual violent crimes were not.

The third group was made up of men who had been convicted of violent crimes. Men who had committed sex offences were excluded from this group, as were those for whom violent offending, including homicide, was exceptional. That is first offenders and those with only a single violent offence.

Preference for membership of the fourth group was given to men who had never been convicted of violent offences. However, men whose offence profile was predominantly non-violent, but included a maximum of two minor assault convictions, were included in this group.

Materials

The three dependent variables; intimacy, loneliness, and anger, were measured by the following three scales:

The Waring Intimacy Scale, WIQ (Waring & Reddon, 1983; Appendix 2)) contains 90 items requiring a true or false response. This scale was used in the present study as the broad definition of intimacy on which it is based appears to have the greatest face and external validity, judging by popular definitions of this construct (Waring et al., 1980). A broad definition is most useful for the assessment of the importance of the lack of intimacy in relation to the initiation and maintenance of offending.

Intimacy has been operationally defined by Waring and his colleagues (e.g., Waring et al., 1980; Waring & Reddon, 1983) as having eight aspects: 1) Conflict Resolution, the manner in which differences of opinion are resolved; 2) Affection, the degree to which feelings of emotional closeness are expressed; 3) Cohesion, level of commitment to a relationship; 4) Sexuality, the level of communication and fulfilment of sexual needs; 5) Identity, level of self confidence and self-esteem; 6) Compatibility, the degree to which a couple works and plays together comfortably; 7) Expressiveness, the level of disclosure of thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and feelings; and 8) Autonomy, the degree of independence from families-of-origin and children. The scales of the WIQ are based on these eight aspects. Individual items have been found to load well onto the appropriate scale and to be discriminantly valid (Reddon, Patton, & Waring, 1985).

A Social Desirability subscale is included in addition to the eight intimacy subscales. Consideration of this aspect of self report is important given its demonstrated effect on individuals' report of levels of intimacy (Patton & Waring, 1985). A measure of intimacy is obtained by subtracting the Social Desirability score from the sum of the 40 items with the highest item-total correlation.

The advantages of the WIQ over other measures of intimacy, such as the Marital Satisfaction Inventory begin with Waring and his colleagues focusing on the need to counter response style variance (Patton & Waring, 1991). This approach coupled with the development of maximally convergent and discriminant items help make the WIQ a reliable and valid measure of intimacy (Reddon et al., 1985). Consideration of both clinical and non-clinical samples in the development of the scale (Waring et al., 1980) is another area of strength. Since its inception the WIQ has been shown to be a reliable and valid measure of marital intimacy (Waring, 1984), and to have high criterion validity with respect to related measures (Wood, Barnes, & Waring, 1988).

The Revised UCLA Loneliness Scale, UCLS- R (Russell, Peplau, & Cutrona, 1980; Appendix 3) consists of twenty items focusing on the respondents feelings about themselves in relation to others. These are answered using a rating scale from 1 (never feel) to 4 (often feel). The scale has been shown to have high internal consistency ($\alpha = .94$) (Russell et al., 1980) and to correlate highly with other measures of loneliness (Solano, 1980). In addition, high scores, reflecting loneliness, are correlated with limited social activities and lack of interpersonal relationships, indicating high external validity. Also low correlations exist with measures of mood and personality, indicating good discriminant validity (Russell et al., 1980).

Given that the the aim of the current study was not to investigate the various types of isolation, but rather to consider the impact of lack of intimacy, a scale tapping common themes in the experience of loneliness was most useful. The UCLS-R has been criticized for being based on a unidimensional conceptualization of loneliness, however this did not pose a problem for the current study. In fact this aspect along, with the fact that it is widely used, made it more attractive than other measures of loneliness.

The State Trait Anger Expression Inventory, STAXI (Spielberger, 1988; Appendix 4) is a three part measure, consisting of 44 questions answered on rating scales of 1 (not at all/almost never) to 4 (very much so/almost always). This instrument was ideal for the current study as it measures a number of different aspects of anger, including: State Anger, the degree to which the respondent feels angry at a particular point in time; Trait Anger, the degree to which an individual is disposed to feeling angry; Anger In, the degree to which a person internalizes anger; Anger Out, the degree to which anger is expressed towards other people or objects; Anger Control, the frequency with which anger is controlled; and Anger Expression, which indicates the general frequency of anger expression, regardless of the direction of that expression.

Both the state and trait scales have been shown to have high internal consistency ($\alpha=.93$ and $.86$ respectively) (Speilberger, 1988). The anger expression scales (i.e., Anger In, Anger Out and Anger Expression) have also been shown to be valid, with respect to both New Zealand (Knight, Chisholm, Paulin, & Waal-Manning, 1988) and American (Speilberger, 1988) samples. Further, the Anger Expression subscales have been shown to measure independent facets of anger, with correlations of close to zero for Anger Out versus Anger In and Anger Control, and of -0.6 for Anger In vs Anger Control (Speilberger, 1988). Good levels of convergent and divergent validity have also been demonstrated for the anger expression scales (Speilberger, 1988). Initial investigation has demonstrated the validity of the more recently developed Anger Control subscale (Speilberger, 1988).

Although the STAXI has its developmental roots in behavioural medicine and health psychology research (Speilberger, 1988), its distinction between different aspects of anger makes it an ideal instrument for the assessment of prison populations. Especially as it seems that different types of sexual offenders vary not in terms of their experience of anger, but rather in their expression, or lack of expression of it (e.g., Marshall, 1989a). In addition norms for prison inmates are provided in the manual (Speilberger, 1988), and recently norms for New Zealand have been collected (Knight et al., 1988).

Following completion of the above scales participants were asked to fill in the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Index, M-C SDI (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Appendix 5) which consists of 33 true/false questions. A measure of social desirability was included because of a tendency for people to answer relationship related questions in a way which conforms to social norms (Patton & Waring, 1985). It has been proposed that test scores cannot be meaningfully interpreted if they are confounded by such conformity (Holden & Fekken, 1989).

The MC-SDI was selected in preference to other measures such as the Edwards Scale because of its consideration of the degree to which individuals focuses on others, rather than respondents sense of self efficacy (Holden & Fekken, 1989). Clearly the former focus is more relevant to the current study.

Finally, participants completed a short form of the Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised, WAIS-R (Wechsler, 1981). The short form used consisted of four subtests, administered in the following order: Vocabulary, Block Design, Information, and Picture Arrangement. Compared to other combinations these four subtests have been shown to correlate most highly with the WAIS-R full scale IQ (Silverstein, 1982). Scaled scores were prorated to provide verbal (VIQ), performance (PIQ), and full scale (FSIQ) IQ estimates.

Procedure

Potential participants were asked individually, to come and see the investigator who informed them of the purpose of the study and requested their participation in it. The study was introduced as an investigation into the ways in which people relate to each other. Participants were told that this involve looking at different groups of people, and various aspects of their relationships. There was no deception, however anticipated results and specific details were not revealed in order to avoid expectancy bias. It was stressed that taking part was strictly voluntary and that participation would have no effect, positive or negative, on any aspect of their sentence (e.g., release date or continued participation at Kia Marama or other programme options). Confidentiality was guaranteed, with particular reference to prison authorities. At this point individuals who agreed to take part in the study were asked to sign an informed consent document.

Before completing the questionnaires participants were asked for details of their relationship status (i.e., prior to incarceration). Those who had lived

with a partner for approximately less than four months were excluded, as this severely limited their ability to fill out the Waring Intimacy Questionnaire accurately (WIQ).

All data for members of the Child Molester group at Kia Marama, with the exception of IQ scores (assessed by the experimenter, a 28 year old masters' thesis student), was collected by therapy staff as part of initial assessment for the treatment programme. Six members of this group who had been tested using a full WAIS-R in the 12 months prior to the current study were not retested.

Members of the Child Molester group (except one interred at Paparua Prison) were also classified by their therapist as either fixated or regressed, according to the following criteria:

FIXATED	REGRESSED
Primary sexual orientation is to children.	Primary sexual orientation to agemates.
Paedophilic interests begins in adolescence	Paedophilic interests usually first evident in adult years.
Relationship with child is pseudo-parent/romantic fantasy.	Relationship with child is pseudo-adult.
Offending is usually premeditated and compulsive.	Offending is usually impulsive and episodic.
Lifestyle usually involves persistent interest and involvement with children.	Lifestyle is relatively normal.
Offence = maladaptive resolution of life development (maturation) issues.	Offence = maladaptive attempt to cope with specific life stresses.

Data collection for inmates at Paparua Prison involved a testing session of approximately 75 minutes. In that time the above four questionnaires (WIQ, UCLS, STAXI, and M-CSDI) and a short form of the WAIS-R were administered. Participants were offered the option of completing the scales themselves or having the investigator read out the questions.

Demographic data and information relating to offending was collected using a brief questionnaire (Appendix 6) following administration of questionnaires and the short form of the WAIS-R. Where necessary additional or confirmatory information was gained from prison files.

At the end of each session participants were asked if they had any questions or comments about the questionnaires or the study. Those who were interested in the outcome of the study were given the investigator's address at the University of Canterbury and advised to contact him at the end of 1991. Appropriate referrals were made for those who wished to further discuss issues which arose as a result of the experimental procedure.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESULTS

The aim of the present study was to examine the characteristics of different types of sex offenders, and to investigate differences between sex offenders and other types of offenders, in the area of intimacy. Differences in the experience and expression anger, and loneliness, were also examined.

Group Member Characteristics.

There was a considerable age difference between groups. Child Molesters were significantly older, and Violent offenders significantly younger, than all other groups, $F(3,85) = 16.96, p < .01$. (See Table 1)

The majority of the participants were Pakeha (72%) with 22 % Maori, and the remaining 6% belonging to another ethnic group, $\chi^2(6) = 16.5, p < .01$. The Child Molester group was predominantly Pakeha (78%), while most Maori belonged to the Violent offender group (47%).

On the WAIS-R (short form) Child Molesters gained significantly higher Verbal IQ, $F(3,84) = 13.55, p < .01$ and Full Scale IQ, $F(3,84) = 7.04, p < .01$ scores, compared to the other groups (See Table 1). In contrast there were no significant difference between any of the groups in Performance IQ. Violent offenders gained the lowest scores on all of the IQ scales.

Rapists tended to have the longest sentences with 78% serving terms of five years or longer, compared to Child Molesters (18%), Violent offenders (9%), and Non-Violent offenders (0%). Sentences of less than three years were given to the majority of Non-Violent (80%) and Violent offenders (70%). Only half of the Child Molesters were given sentences of this length.

TABLE 1
Age and WAIS-R (short form) means and standard deviations
for main offender groups.

	GROUP			
	Child Molesters	Rapists	Violent	Non-Violent
AGE	40.6 (10.4)	29.6 (8.0)	24.1 (4.7)	29.6 (8.5)
WAIS-R				
Verbal IQ	101.9 (14.8)	84.5 (13.7)	78.0 (8.7)	88.0 (15.9)
Performance IQ	98.8 (13.8)	97.8 (18.0)	93.9 (14.9)	95.2 (14.0)
Full Scale IQ	99.8 (13.0)	88.9 (14.7)	83.1 (10.2)	89.8 (14.1)

Most of the Violent offenders (95%) had received criminal convictions during their adolescence (under 20 years of age), while most of the Child Molesters (78%) had not. Just over half of the Rapists (56%) and nearly three quarters of the Non-Violent offenders (68%) had adolescent criminal convictions.

While the majority of participants fell into the trades/skilled labourer and semi-/unskilled labourer groups, there was some noticeable difference between the offender groups. Eighty percent of the Violent offenders and 40% of Non-Violent offenders were unemployed prior to incarceration. Child Molesters were the most occupationally skilled group with 62% being employed as white collar workers, tradesmen or skilled labourers.

The majority of Rapists, Violent and Non-Violent offenders were in de facto relationships (61%, 81%, 65% respectively), while most Child Molesters were married (37%) or divorced/separated (36%). Only 22% of the Child Molesters were in de facto relationships. Only 9% of the Violent offenders, and 25% of the Non-Violent offenders were married. None of the Rapists

were married. Child Molesters had significantly longer relationships than other offender, $F(3,82)=5.93$, $p<.01$), but there was no difference in the average number of relationships.

For all groups approximately 75% of offenders had lived with their partner immediately prior to imprisonment. However there were major differences between groups with regard to planned resumption of relationships following release. None of the rapists, only half of the Child Molesters, and 65% of Violent and Non-Violent offenders were certain that they would return to their partners

There was a noticeable difference between the fixated and regressed groups in relation to victim gender. The majority of regressed offenders preferred female victims (77%) while the remainder had no preference. In contrast fixated offenders were split nearly half and half in with regarded to preferred gender of victim. There also appeared to be some difference with respect to the offenders relationship to the victim, with fixated offenders being more likely than regressed offender to have a combination of related and unrelated victims (44% vs 6%). There was no noticeable differences in age preference. However statistical analysis was not possible for many of these variables because of the small cell sizes.

Intimacy

A one factor ANOVA revealed that Non-Violent offenders had a significantly higher level of Total Intimacy on the Waring Intimacy Scale (WIQ), compared to other types of offenders, $F(3,82) = 4.14$, $p<.01$. (See Table 2). Similar analysis of sub-scales of the WIQ showed the same pattern, (i.e., significantly higher scores for Non-Violent offenders) for the Expressiveness sub-scale, $F(3,85) = 4.94$, $p<.01$. and the Compatibility sub-scale, $F(3,85) = 3.19$, $p<.01$. This pattern was also apparent on the Conflict Resolution sub-scale, $F(3,85) = 2.77$, $p<.05$, except that Non-Violent offenders did not score significantly higher than Rapists.

In contrast to the main trend apparent in the above results Child Molesters gained the highest scores on the Cohesion sub-scale. They were significantly higher than Rapists scores but not Violent or Non Violent offenders, $F(3,85) = 2.7, p < .05$ (Table 2).

TABLE 2
Waring Intimacy Questionnaires (WIQ) and UCLA Loneliness Scale-Revised (UCLS-R) means and standard deviations fo main offender groups.

	GROUP			
	Child Molesters	Rapists	Violent	Non-Violent
<hr/>				
WIQ				
Expressive	5.5 (2.9)	5.2 (3.1)	6.1 (2.4)	8.1 (2.1)
Autonomy	6.5 (2.5)	6.4 (2.1)	5.3 (2.3)	6.6 (2.1)
Sexuality	6.1 (2.4)	5.9 (1.9)	6.9 (2.1)	7.3 (1.9)
Cohesion	6.2 (2.1)	4.3 (1.8)	5.6 (2.4)	5.5 (2.3)
Compatibil.	5.6 (2.7)	5.2 (2.6)	6.2 (2.4)	7.5 (1.8)
Identity	4.9 (3.1)	5.8 (2.3)	5.3 (2.2)	6.9 (2.2)
Affection	6.8 (2.6)	6.3 (2.1)	6.9 (2.4)	7.8 (1.8)
Conflict Res.	5.2 (2.9)	5.3 (2.3)	4.8 (1.9)	6.8 (1.9)
Social Des.	3.2 (2.4)	3.6 (2.3)	4.4 (3.1)	5.1 (2.8)
Total Int.	20.4 (8.0)	18.7 (4.8)	19.1 (5.2)	25.0 (4.9)
<hr/>				
UCLS-R	46.4 (11.8)	44.6 (9.5)	37.4 (9.3)	37.1 (8.4)
<hr/>				

No significant differences were found on sub-scales measuring Sexuality, $F(3,84) = 1.9, ns$; Identity, $F(3,85) = 2.4, ns$; or Social Desirability, $F(3,85) = 2.1, ns$, however there were some trends in the data (Table 2). On the Sexuality subscale Child Molesters and Rapists scored lower than Violent and Non-Violent offenders with the latter having the highest score. Non-Violent offenders also scored highest on the Identity subscale followed by Rapists, Violent offenders and Child Molesters. A fairly large difference was also

noted between Child Molesters and Non-Violent offenders scores on the Social Desirability subscale.

Loneliness

Child Molesters and Rapists gained significantly higher scores (indicating greater loneliness) than Violent and Non-Violent offenders on the revised UCLA Loneliness Scale (UCLS-R), $F(3,87) = 5.23$, $p < .01$ (Table 2). There was no significant difference between Child Molesters and Rapists or between Violent and Non-Violent offenders.

Anger

Groups' scores on the State Anger scale of the State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI) were not significantly different from each other $F(3,87) = 0.8$, ns, however on Trait Anger Violent offenders scored significantly higher than the other groups, $F(3,87) = 4.36$, $p < .01$ (See Table 3).

TABLE 3:
State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI) means and standard deviations for main offender groups.

	GROUP			
	Child Molesters	Rapists	Violent	Non-Violent
State Anger	12.9 (6.2)	11.0 (2.6)	13.3 (5.7)	12.6 (3.8)
Trait Anger	19.0 (6.2)	20.8 (6.6)	26.2 (7.4)	20.8 (8.5)
Anger In	17.9 (3.1)	18.7 (3.4)	18.8 (3.3)	15.5 (3.6)
Anger Out	15.6 (4.4)	16.2 (4.4)	20.5 (5.4)	16.8 (5.0)
Anger Control	23.8 (5.7)	21.7 (5.7)	16.6 (4.0)	22.0 (7.0)
Anger Express.	25.7 (9.7)	28.7 (10.7)	38.7 (8.9)	26.3 (12.5)

Non-Violent offenders score significantly lower on the Anger In scale of the STAXI compared to the other groups, $F(3,87) = 4.21, p < .01$. In contrast Violent offenders scored significantly lower than the other groups on Anger Control, $F(3,87) = 6.93, p < .01$. They also scored significantly higher than all other groups on the Anger Out, $F(3,87) = 4.67, p < .01$, and Anger Expression scales, $F(3,87) = 7.46, p < .01$. On the latter scale Rapists had the next highest score, with Child Molesters and Non-Violent offenders sharing the lowest score (See Table 3).

Fixated versus Regressed Child Molesters

No significant differences were found between fixated and regressed child molesters on any of the dependent measures, however trends were noted on some subscales of the WIQ (See Table 4). Compared to regressed Child Molesters fixated offenders had lower Total Intimacy, $F(1,24) = 2.1, ns$; Expressiveness, $F(1,25) = 3.2, ns$; and Compatibility $F(1,25) = 2.8, ns$, scores, but higher Autonomy scores, $F(1,25) = 1.9$. A one factor ANOVA showed that Regressed Child molesters scored significantly higher than Rapists, but not Fixated Child Molesters, on the Cohesion sub-scale of the WIQ, $F(2,43) = 6.0, p < .01$. While no other significant differences were found in the scores of these three groups, comparison of STAXI scores showed fixated child molesters and rapists to have almost identical profiles (See Table 4). No notable difference were apparent on the UCLS-R and Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Index (M-C SDI).

Child Molesters by Preferred Gender of Victim.

A further analysis was made in which Child Molesters were classified according to their preferred victim gender. The low number in the bisexual (i.e., abused boys and girls) and homosexual groups precluded adequate statistical analysis, however some strong trends in WIQ scores were noted (See Table 5). The bisexual group scored noticeably lower compared to one or

both of the other two groups on WIQ Total Intimacy, Expressiveness, Autonomy, Compatibility, Identity, and Social Desirability. No notable differences were apparent on the UCLS-R, STAXI, or M-C SDI.

TABLE 4:
WIQ, UCLS-R, STAXI, AND M-C SDI means and standard
deviations for fixated and regressed Child Molesters, and Rapists.

	GROUP		
	Fixated	Regressed	Rapists
<hr/>			
WIQ			
Expressive	4.0 (3.1)	6.1 (2.7)	5.2 (3.1)
Autonomy	7.3 (2.6)	5.9 (2.4)	6.4 (2.1)
Sexuality	5.0 (2.5)	6.9 (2.2)	5.9 (1.9)
Cohesion	5.6 (2.4)	6.6 (1.9)	4.3 (1.8)
Compatability	4.4 (2.4)	6.2 (2.8)	5.2 (2.6)
Identity	4.6 (3.8)	4.9 (2.6)	5.8 (2.3)
Affection	6.3 (3.0)	7.4 (2.2)	6.3 (2.1)
Conflict Resol.	4.1 (2.9)	5.8 (3.0)	5.3 (2.3)
Social Desire.	2.6 (2.2)	3.8 (2.5)	3.6 (2.3)
Total Intimacy	17.3 (8.8)	21.9 (7.2)	18.7 (4.8)
UCLS-R	46.4 (16.7)	45.9 (8.9)	44.5 (9.5)
STAXI			
State Anger	12.3 (3.0)	13.3 (7.6)	11.0 (2.6)
Trait Anger	20.1 (7.3)	18.6 (5.7)	20.8 (6.6)
Anger In	18.5 (3.2)	17.7 (3.1)	18.7 (3.4)
Anger Out	16.1 (4.7)	15.7 (4.4)	16.2 (4.4)
Anger Control	21.3 (4.4)	24.9 (6.0)	21.7 (5.7)
Anger Express.	29.3 (10.0)	24.4 (9.1)	28.7 (10.7)
M-C SDI	16.8 (6.9)	16.9 (6.0)	16.3 (4.4)
<hr/>			

TABLE 5:
WIQ, UCLS-R, STAXI, and MC-SDI means and standard
deviations for Child Molesters by preferred gender of victim.

	GROUP		
	Homosexual	Heterosexual	Bisexual
WIQ			
Expressive	4.6 (3.4)	5.8 (2.7)	3.7 (2.5)
Autonomy	7.2 (2.8)	6.7 (2.4)	3.7 (1.5)
Sexuality	5.0 (1.9)	6.5 (2.7)	6.7 (2.1)
Cohesion	5.4 (2.4)	6.2 (2.3)	6.3 (0.6)
Compatibility	6.0 (2.0)	5.8 (2.8)	4.7 (3.8)
Identity	6.4 (4.0)	4.9 (2.6)	3.3 (4.0)
Affection	7.0 (3.1)	7.1 (2.3)	6.0 (4.4)
Conflict Resol.	5.0 (2.4)	5.1 (3.1)	5.3 (4.2)
Social Desire.	2.6 (2.9)	3.8 (2.5)	1.7 (0.6)
Total Intimacy	20.8 (8.4)	20.9 (7.6)	17.6 (11.6)
UCLS-R	45.2 (17.2)	46.3 (11.7)	46.3 (9.1)
STAXI			
State Anger	12.4 (2.3)	13.7 (7.5)	10.7 (1.2)
Trait Anger	17.8 (9.6)	19.4 (6.0)	20.7 (9.8)
Anger In	17.6 (2.4)	18.2 (3.5)	17.0 (3.0)
Anger Out	14.4 (4.6)	15.8 (3.7)	17.7 (9.8)
Anger Control	23.0 (5.5)	23.6 (5.8)	23.3 (8.1)
Anger Expressed	25.0 (11.8)	26.4 (8.8)	27.3 (16.3)
MC-SDI	20.6 (7.9)	15.8 (6.2)	18.7 (6.0)

Incest/Non-Incest Offenders

Finally, analysis of incest (birth or adoptive father) versus non-incest offenders revealed the former group to have significantly higher scores on the Sexuality sub-scale of the WIQ, $F(1,23) = 5.53$, $p < .05$ (See Table 6) There were also notable trends on the subscales measuring Social Desirability, $F(1,24) = 3.2$, ns, and Affection, $F(1,24) = 2.6$, ns. In both cases Incest offenders gained the higher scores. No notable differences were found on the UCLS-R, STAXI, or M-C SDI.

TABLE 6:
WIQ, UCLS-R, STAXI, AND MC-SDI means and
standard deviations for incest and non-incest offenders

	GROUP	
	Incest	Non-Incest
WIQ		
Expressive	5.4 (2.5)	5.2 (3.1)
Autonomy	7.1 (1.8)	6.0 (2.9)
Sexuality	7.8 (1.8)	5.4 (2.5)
Cohesion	6.7 (2.2)	5.7 (2.1)
Compatibility	6.4 (2.9)	5.3 (2.5)
Identity	5.4 (2.9)	4.8 (3.2)
Affection	8.0 (1.5)	6.3 (2.9)
Conflict Resol.	5.8 (2.9)	4.8 (3.0)
Social Desire.	4.4 (2.0)	2.7 (2.6)
Total Intimacy	23.6 (6.0)	18.9 (8.4)
UCLS-R	43.6 (12.5)	47.5 (12.0)
STAXI		
State Anger	15.2 (10.0)	11.9 (2.4)
Trait Anger	18.5 (5.5)	19.7 (6.9)
Anger In	17.6 (3.1)	18.2 (3.3)
Anger Out	15.5 (3.3)	15.9 (5.2)
Anger Control	22.3 (4.8)	24.2 (6.3)
Anger Expressed	26.8 (5.6)	25.9 (11.7)
MC-SDI	16.2 (7.6)	17.5 (6.1)

Social Desirability

Violent offenders gained significantly lower scores than the other three groups on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Inventory (M-C SDI), $F(3,87) = 4.03, p < .01$ (Table 7). Child Molesters gained the highest scores but these were not significantly higher than those of Rapists or Violent Offenders.

TABLE 7

**Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Inventory (M-C SDI) means
and standard deviations for main offender groups.**

	GROUP			
	Child Molesters	Rapists	Violent	Non-Violent
M-C SDI	17.3 (6.4)	16.3 (4.4)	12.0 (4.9)	15.9 (5.7)

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

Aims of the Study

The aim of the present study was to investigate the usefulness of lack of intimacy as a potential explanatory variable for sex offending, by testing the following hypotheses:

1. Compared to violent and non-violent offenders rapists and child molesters will be show lower levels of intimacy as measured by the Waring Intimacy Questionnaire (WIQ).
2. Both groups of sex offenders will report a greater degree of loneliness, as measured by the UCLA Loneliness Scale-Revised (UCLS-R), compared to other offenders.
3. Child molesters will express less anger than rapists, violent and non-violent offenders, but these four groups will not differ in terms of the level of anger experienced.

The results of the current research indicate support for Hypothesis 2, some support for Hypothesis 1, and limited support for Hypothesis 3.

Intimacy

Significantly higher Total Intimacy scores for non-violent offenders, compared to sex and violent offenders, suggests that those convicted of crimes against the person, regardless of the nature of the crime, are relatively deficient in intimacy. Specific deficits were apparent in the areas of Expressiveness, or self-disclosure, and Compatibility, which refers to a couples' ability to operate as a cohesive unit. Although the results did not differentiate between types of violent offenders (i.e., sex versus non-sex), they do support the assertion that lack of intimacy is a potentially important explanatory variable for sex offending (Marshall, 1989a).

Further analysis of subtests of the Waring Intimacy Questionnaire (WIQ) suggests sex offenders may be differentiated in ways other than their level of Total Intimacy. For example, child molesters gained significantly higher Cohesiveness scores than rapists. This suggests a greater level of commitment in the former group's relationships. However, further analysis of results indicated that it was only regressed child molesters who were significantly more committed. Fixated child molesters' lower level of dedication to their partnerships is not surprising, given their primary interest in children. It is possible that in some cases marriages may merely be a means of disguising an individual's predilection for children.

The higher level of commitment of child molester also appeared to be reflected in demographic data, which showed that 37 percent of child molesters, but no rapists, were married at the time of the study. This demographic difference should be interpreted with care however, as it may merely be a reflection of the child molesters being significantly older than rapists in this sample. In addition, more non-sexual violent offenders, whose Cohesiveness scores were similar to child molesters, than rapists were in defacto relationships. Therefore, it would be unwise to consider marital status as a direct reflection of commitment.

However, it is interesting to note that no rapists were certain of returning to their partners following release, while two thirds of child molesters were. It is possible that these figures, and child molesters' apparently higher levels of commitment, reflect the fact that their partners feel more involved in the offending. It may be the case that some child molesters' partners feel a degree of responsibility for the crime, especially in cases of incest. At this stage however, assertions such as these are highly speculative and are in need of careful empirical investigation.

An alternative explanation for these results, is that the lower Cohesiveness scores of rapists reflects the presence of negative attitudes to women which

contribute to rape, in these offenders' relationships. In contrast, attitudes which contribute to child molesters offending are not as likely to be as obviously damaging to their partnerships. In fact, the aberrant nature of their offending may lead child molesters be excessively committed to their relationships, or to present themselves as being more committed than they actually are. That is, their self report may be part of a denial system aimed at protecting themselves from the reality of their crime.

Interpreting this result from an alternative stance, suggests child molesters apparently high levels of commitment may be maladaptive. That is, when considered in the context of their low Identity subscale scores. It is possible that child molesters, to a greater degree than the rapists, seek a sense of identity through their relationship. This would be consistent with findings which suggest that individuals with an insecure attachment history, tend to be emotionally dependent on their partner (Feeney & Noller, 1990). However, this association is highly speculative, and needs to be investigated further using assessment methods which focus more specifically on the above areas.

There is ample room for speculation about the source of child molesters' and rapists' apparently different levels of commitment. However, it should be noted that these differences may merely reflect the fact that rapists' sentences tended to be longer than those of other offenders. Also, the results on which the above assertions are based are likely to be confounded by two other factors. Firstly, by the fact that child molesters in the current sample were significantly older than rapists, and secondly by the fact that the former had significantly longer relationships. It is also important to remember that offenders' evaluation of the state of their relationship, may not be consistent with that of their partners'. Although extreme care is need when interpreting these finding, the results do provide an indication of areas which may be usefully investigated in the future.

Finally with regard to intimacy, it is interesting to note that non-violent

offenders scored significantly higher than violent offenders and child molesters, but not rapists, in the area of conflict resolution. At first inspection this seems to be at odds with rapists significantly lower commitment to their relationships. However, it may be that from a subjective point of view, rapists feel more able than to resolve conflict than child molesters and violent offenders. This could be a result of lower levels of commitment, which mean they have limited emotional investment in their relationships. It may also reflect a lack of awareness consistent with their apparent inability to read negative cues from women (Lipton et al., 1987). The question is, do they actually resolve the conflict. Results of the current study which show rapists to have relatively high levels of internalized anger may be an indication that they do not.

Loneliness

A significant difference in UCLS-R scores supports Hypothesis 3 that the sex offenders will report higher levels of loneliness than non-sex offenders. It is noted however, that these results do not fit with studies of adolescent offenders which found rapists to be less isolated than child molesters (Blask et al., 1989). The difference between adolescent and adult rapist may be due to certain deficits becoming more severe and debilitating with age. Thus, a high level of isolation would not be evident in adolescent offenders. It may be that as they get older, rapists also become more aware of their isolation, and therefore report themselves as being more lonely.

Alternatively, methodological factors may have limited assessment of isolation, leading to the severity of deficits in adolescent offenders being underestimated. This is possible given the limitation of social skills models used in less recent studies. The development of a more refined model of social competence has facilitated closer examination of deficits which can lead to isolation (McFall, 1982, 1990). For example, up until recently rapists were thought to have a relatively adequate degree of social competence, that

is comparable to non-sex offenders (Segal & Marshall, 1985). However, a recent study which utilised McFall's (1982, 1990) theoretical approach, suggests that rapists have deficits in skills related to the encoding and integration of social cues (Lipton et al., 1987). Inadequacy in these areas would be likely to lead to isolation. Thus, the lack of sophistication of models of social skills used in previous research, may explain findings which suggest rapists have a relatively adequate level of interpersonal ability.

It is possible that rapist are less isolated from males than females, given findings from adolescent studies which suggest they have strong links with delinquent peers (Blask et al., 1989). However, high levels of loneliness reported by incarcerated adult rapists in the current study, indicate that they are isolated from males as well. These results should be interpreted with care however, as the prison environment is unique. Therefore, reports of loneliness obtained therein may not necessarily reflect the levels of isolation experienced by rapists and other offenders when they are in other situations.

The level of sex offenders' (i.e., child molesters and rapists) emotional isolation is further indicated by their lower level of sexual satisfaction, compared to the other two groups. Although not significant, this result may be seen to support the hypothesis that loneliness, in combination with inability to secure satisfactory sexual contact, is an important precipitating and perpetuating factor for sex offending.

Anger

Non-violent offenders gained significantly lower scores on the internalised anger subscale of the STAXI, compared to the other groups. However, they were not different to sex offenders in terms of their expression of anger as measured by Trait Anger, Anger Control, Anger Out, and Anger Expression subscales. This suggests the non-violent offenders express their anger

relatively directly. In contrast, the expression of anger by sex offenders is likely to involve the release of additional internalized anger. Findings such as this lend support to the view that suppression of anger may be an important causal variable for sex offending. This causal relationship is indicated by reports that child molesters lack of assertiveness (Segal & Marshall, 1985), and of a large proportion of rapists being motivated by anger (Knight & Prentky, 1990). The significantly higher scores of violent offenders on the STAXI, compared to other groups, suggests, not surprisingly, that this group expresses internalized anger through aggressive behaviour.

Results support the latter part of Hypothesis 3 by failing to find differences in the experience of anger for the four offender groups. The results also help to distinguish sex offenders from other types of offenders in terms of the internalization and expression of anger. Unfortunately, the current study failed to find a distinction between child molesters and rapists in terms of expression of anger. However, further analysis, discussed below, suggests that a subgroup of child molesters (i.e, regressed) may be distinguished from rapists on measures of anger.

Rapists' tendency to be overassertive, behaviourally excessive, and explosive, compared with child molesters (Bard et al., 1987), was not apparent in the results of the present study. However, the current data does support these authors' assertion that child molesters' and rapists' levels of aggressive behaviour are comparable, in both offence and non-offence situations. Comparisons need to be made with care however, as Bard et al.'s (1987) sample consisted of dangerous sex offenders, while participants in current study had not been given such a severe classification. In addition, the present study's reliance on self report may have prevented accurate assessment, given that measures of hostility are not necessarily indicative of levels of aggressive behaviour (Check et al., 1985).

Within Group Comparison of Child Molesters

Fixated/Regressed.

The importance of distinguishing between child molesters in terms of their level of fixation has been suggested by several researchers (e.g., Groth et al., 1982; Knight, & Prentky, 1990). Although no significant differences were found between the scores of fixated and regressed child molesters, these results are worth considering. This is because the fixated offenders in the current study are likely to have relatively low levels of fixation compared with other offenders in this class of child molester. This is likely for two reasons, both relating to selection of participants for the current study. Firstly, entry into Kia Marama Treatment programme is voluntary, meaning that offenders need to be motivated, at least to some degree, to change their sexual behaviour. More fixated offenders are unlikely to be motivated to do this, and therefore would probably not elect to enter the Kia Marama treatment programme. In addition, participants were only eligible for the current study if they were in partnerships, thus excluding more fixated offenders who are unlikely to be in such a situation. Therefore, it seems appropriate to interpret the trends in the data from the current study, with the caveat that further research is needed with more fixated offenders to confirm the assertions made.

Compared to regressed offenders, fixated offenders gained lower Total Intimacy, Expressiveness, and Compatibility scores on the WIQ. These trends are not surprising given that fixated offenders' apparent lack of psychosexual development would make maintenance of an adult relationship difficult. That is, individuals whose primary sexual orientation is to children would be expected to have relatively tenuous partnerships, to which they display a marginal level of commitment.

Also worthy of note is the similar profile of fixated child molesters and rapists' STAXI scores, which indicate higher levels of anger expression for

these two groups compared to regressed child molesters. These similarities suggest that in some areas there is a greater overlap in the characteristics of fixated child molesters and rapists, than there is between the two types of child molesters. It is important to consider these similarities, given findings that treatment programmes for child molesters are not optimally effective for rapists (Marshall et al., 1991). It may be that for a portion of child molesters current treatment programmes need to be adjusted, for example to allow more focus on the control and expression of anger and hostility. Further research is needed in this area however, in order to more clearly explicate the similarities between subtypes of child molesters and rapists. It would also be useful to more carefully consider differences between rapists.

Sexual Preference.

Distinguishing child molesters by their sexual preference in the current study was prompted by recent findings, which indicate that this factor is predictive of recidivism (Gordon, 1991). It is suggested that the so called bisexual group tends to have a higher rates of recidivism than either the homosexual or heterosexual groups. Although low numbers in the bisexual and homosexual groups precluded statistical analysis of the current results, strong trends in the data provide an indication of some reasons for the higher rates of recidivism in the former group.

The bisexual group scored noticeably lower compared to one or both of the other two groups on WIQ Total Intimacy, Expressiveness, Autonomy, Compatibility, Identity, and Social Desirability. Results suggest these offenders are less able to express themselves in intimate situations, and are less able to get on with partners in both domestic and leisure situations. These factors, combined with an apparently underdeveloped sense of self and inadequate separation from their own and their partners family, are likely to restrict their ability to form intimate adult relationships and therefore perpetuate offending. The fact that the bisexual group abuse both

boys and girls may be indicative of their more desperate need for intimacy. This also suggests a greater inability to establish appropriate relationships for satisfying this need. Finally, results of the current study suggest that bisexual offenders are relatively uninterested in confirming to socially desirable behaviour, indicating they may be less constrained by social mores.

Incest/Non-Incest.

Comparison of incest and non-incest perpetrators revealed a significant difference, on the Sexuality subscale of the WIQ. It is interesting that individuals who sexually offend against their own children report a high level of sexual satisfaction. Their self-reported level of sexual satisfaction is high, not only in comparison with non-incest offenders, but also compared to a sample of the general population (Patton & Waring, 1985). Incest offenders' reporting may be partially due to their desire to present a normal picture of their familial relationships. This claim receives some support from incest offenders notably higher scores on the Social Desirability subscale of the WIQ. It is also possible, given child molesters comparatively high levels of anger suppression, that incest offenders suppress acknowledgement of the inadequacies of sexual aspects of their relationships.

Thus, incest offenders' relatively higher scores may be seen as reflecting denial of their crime. Such denial may be related to blurred boundaries between marital and parental relationships. This hypothesis would at least partially explain incest offenders gaining noticeably high scores than non-incest offenders on the Affection subscale. Specifically, incest perpetrators may fail to differentiate affection gained from their partner and affection gained from their child. This lack of distinction between the parental and spousal realms may also apply to levels of sexual satisfaction. Unfortunately, no clear explanations can be drawn from the results of the current study, but clearly these questions could be usefully addressed in future studies

Social Desirability

A difference on M-C SDI scores and WIQ Social Desirability Scores was noted with violent offenders exhibiting the least social desirability on the former scale and child molesters on the latter. It is not surprising that violent offenders have the least interpersonal sensitivity, the central construct measured by the the M-C SDI. However, it is not clear why child molesters display the least social desirability on the WIQ. Violent offenders higher scores on this scale may reflect this group's perception of the greater importance of conforming to norms connected to intimate relationships, as opposed to broader societal expectations.

Violent offenders' low social desirability scores gives a clear indication of a lack of what Holden and Fekken (1989) have described as interpersonal sensitivity. This deficit may be related to their significantly higher level of trait anger, either causally or consequentially. It is interesting to note that that rapists and non-violent offenders had similar scores on the M-C SDI, even though, compared to the latter, rapists appear to lack interpersonal sensitivity. However, this finding seems to be consistent with others that suggest rapists present a relatively normal profile in many areas, for example with respect to many interpersonal skills (Segal & Marshall, 1985). It has been suggested that rapists deficits are more situationally specific (Lipton et al., 1987), and therefore may only be exposed by more specific instruments, such as those which measure belief in rape myths and levels of hostility toward women.

Results indicating that child molesters have a relatively high level of sensitivity to the evaluations of others, are consistent with findings from studies of adolescents. For example, in one sample adolescent sex offenders reported stronger beliefs in the value of the legal system than young violent offenders (Fagan & Wexler, 1988). This relatively high level of social desirability, along with self-report on other scales (e.g., Cohesiveness subscale of the WIQ), may be seen as part of an attempt to present a picture

of normalcy in their lives. It is recognized that child molesters employ cognitive distortions to defend themselves against unpleasant cognitive-affective reactions to their offending (Murphy, 1990). Their apparently higher adherence to social norms may be part of such a defence strategy which allows them to ignore the true nature and impact of their offending. Such presentations of normalcy and denial have been found in adolescent child molesters and their families in several studies (e.g., Blask et al., 1989; Serfarbi, 1990)

Intelligence

The significantly higher IQ scores of Child Molesters and significantly lower scores of Violent Offenders raises the question of intelligence being a confounding variable in the current study. This does not seem to be the case however, as there is no related pattern on groups' performance on the dependent measures. The exception to this was the expected differences on the STAXI, which were entirely consistent with offence characteristics. However, even on this measure the pattern of IQ scores was not followed for all subscales. For example, violent offenders gained the same scores as sex offenders on Anger In.

Also, in contrast to the results of the current study, other research has indicated that rapists perform better than child molesters on all scales of the WAIS-R (Bard et al., 1987). It is apparent that the relationship between offence type and intelligence is not simple, as is suggested by the variety of results from investigations of this association (Knight, Rosenberg, & Schneider, 1985).

Evaluation of the Present Study

The present study is a useful initial investigation of the potential explanatory power of the lack of intimacy and loneliness in the sex offending puzzle. However, some features of the current research restrict

generalization of the the results, as well as leaving gaps which need to be addressed by future research.

One of the most obviously limiting features of the present study is the restriction of participation to individuals who had relationships which involved cohabitation of at least four months. Clearly this leaves a large portion of the inmate population unaccounted for. As mentioned above, this is likely to be critical with for the child molester group, as the more fixated offenders who are less likely to be in a adult relationship, were not considered. It may also lead to the omission of younger offenders and more interpersonally disabled individuals, as it would be unlikely that these individuals would be in cohabitative relationships.

Another problem related to the measurement of intimacy in the present study is lack of consideration of partners' perceptions of relationships, an important variable mentioned by several researchers (e.g., Prager, 1989). Related to this, are questions about the degree of impact of incarceration on offenders' relationships. This factor would need to be accounted for when making comparisons with non-inmate samples.

Finally, the lack of homosexual respondents in the present study needs to be noted. The problem of research on intimacy focusing only on heterosexual individuals and relationships has been noted previously (e.g., Segal & Marshall, 1985). It is likely that in the area of intimacy at least some homosexual men will express attitudes different to those of heterosexual men. To fail to account for these differences limits the generalizability of data.

Reliance on self reports, not substantiated by observational data, may also limit the usefulness of data by obscuring the true levels of intimacy , loneliness, and anger of participant. There are also limitations involved with measuring constructs within an environment as unique as prison. For example, the rules, both official and unwritten, governing behaviour in

prisons are different from those in operation in society. Several subjects, completing the STAXI, noted the difference in their behaviour and attitudes in prison, compared to when they were not incarcerated. It is possible that the prison environment promotes the suppression of vulnerability, which may limit inmates' self-reporting of behaviour and attitudes related to intimacy.

In addition, although levels of intelligence did not appear to confound results, some individuals found certain questions difficult to understand. This is likely to have been due to either the level of difficulty of the material or its alien nature. For example, the use of the word *mate* to denote an intimate female partner confused several individuals, who would normally apply this term only to male friends. This is indicative of problems with using questionnaires developed with non-New Zealand, non-inmate populations. A questionnaire used in the current study which is not so problematic in these areas is the STAXI, which has both New Zealand (Knight et al., 1988) and prison inmate (Spielberger, 1988) norms.

It is also noted that two demographic features of the current sample may limit the generalizability of results of the current study. Firstly, the number of Pakeha compared to Maori in the current sample (72% and 22% respectively), although consistent with proportions in the general population, does not reflect the norm in the New Zealand prison population (Pakeha 42.7%, Maori 48.8%, Pacific Islanders 7.8%, and other 0.8%) (Braybrook, 1989). Secondly, it is noted that the average age of various offender groups differs. For example, perpetrators of non-sexual violent crimes are usually younger than other types of offenders (Weiner & Hess, 1987). While this is consistent with the results of the current study, it does raise questions about the validity of comparing the characteristics of groups of disparate age.

These differences in the mean age of offender groups combined with

differences in the average length of participants' relationships may have confounded the results of the WIQ. For example, the significantly older child molesters' reports of higher levels of commitment to their relationships, may have been reflective of their age and the length of their relationship, rather than of their ability to sustain an intimate relationship. Equally, it is possible that the younger offenders reports may be affected by developmental issues which do not affect older offenders. Clearly future research will need to more carefully match participants on these and other variables.

Implications of the Present Study

Evaluation of the present research suggests several areas of investigation for future studies, most obviously extending operational definitions of intimacy to allow inclusion of individuals not involved in partnerships. This is essential, if the value of the lack of intimacy as an explanatory variable for criminal offending is to be accurately assessed. Future research will also need to consider offenders' levels of intimacy outside prison. Evaluation of partners' perception of levels of intimacy would also be useful. In addition, supplementing self-report data, with descriptions of couples' actual behaviour for example, will strengthen the validity of any conclusions reached. An important aspect of expanding the study of intimacy in this area will be comparing inmates with matched non-inmate controls.

Inclusion of single offenders is especially relevant to the assessment of highly fixated child molesters and other offenders, whose interpersonal deficits are likely to preclude the development of cohabitative partnerships. Lack of intimacy and loneliness are most likely to have a significant impact on the offending of these individuals. A need for further differentiation of child molesters in terms of their level of fixation is indicated by results of the current study, which suggest similarities between fixated offenders and rapists. Given that different types and subtypes of sex offenders are apparently not similarly motivated, future research needs to classify these

offenders with greater care. In relation to this, the results of the current study suggest rapists may only differ from other offenders in terms of anger when measures focus on specific factors (e.g., hostility toward women or rape myths). Research clarifying the contextual determinants of rapists' anger would therefore be useful.

Closer examination of child molesters classified according to their victim's gender is also merited. Results of the current study indicate that offenders who abuse both boys and girls are the most deficient in the area of intimacy, however further data is needed to allow more rigorous analysis. In relation to this, it would be useful to investigate the behaviour and attitudes of homosexual men, in relation to intimacy.

More generally, an important step to take in relation to the current study, is investigation of the link between early attachment experiences and types of criminal offending. There is already some indirect evidence which suggest that such a link exists. For example, findings that most of a sample of adolescent child molesters had insecure attachments as children (Saunders, Awad, & White, 1986).

At a theoretical level it would be useful to integrate concepts from key areas (i.e., attachment, developmental theory, loneliness, and sex offending) in order to facilitate understanding of the processes by which individuals developed models of relationships which contribute to sex offending. Recent work by Safran (1990) in which the cognitive behavioural approach was reformulated to include interpersonal theory, would provide a useful framework for such integration.

Conclusion

Data from the present study suggest deficits in certain areas of intimacy, and relatively higher levels of loneliness and/or anger are associated with particular types of crime. Perpetrators of crimes against the person, of both a sexual and nonsexual nature, reported lower levels of intimacy than non-violent offenders. Sex offenders were distinguished from other types of violent offenders, and non-violent offenders, by their significantly higher levels of self-reported loneliness. As expected violent non-sex offenders gained the highest ratings on measures of anger expression and the lowest on anger control. Interestingly, non-violent offenders gained significantly lower scores on a measure of internalized anger, suggesting a potentially important variable for distinguishing between offender groups.

Rapists and child molesters were significantly different in their self-reports only on a subscale measuring their level of relationship commitment. Unfortunately this result was confounded by demographic variables, namely age and length of participants' relationships. However, further analysis in which child molesters were defined as either fixated or regressed, indicated some areas of difference, that is, between a subtype of child molester (i.e., regressed) and rapists.

Within group analysis also revealed a significant difference between incest and non-incest offenders in terms of their levels of satisfaction with the sexual aspect of their relationships. This result indicated a need to differentiate between child molesters in terms of their relationship to their victim. Analysis of the child molester group also suggested potentially strong differences, when these offenders are differentiated in terms of preferred gender of victim. So called bisexual offenders self-reports were notably different from heterosexual and/or homosexual offenders in several areas relating to intimacy. Unfortunately, the relatively small, and somewhat biased sample used in the present study precluded more than tentative conclusions in this area. The results do however indicate the need to differentiate between subtypes of child molesters and rapists, when

making comparisons between these groups, as well as with other offender groups and non-inmate controls.

Overall however, the results of the present study support proposals that lack of intimacy and loneliness are potentially useful for explaining criminal offending, especially of a sexual nature.

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APPENDIX ONE:

AGREEMENT TO TAKE PART IN A RESEARCH PROJECT.

This study will look at ways in which people relate to each other. This will involve looking at different groups of people and various aspects of their relationships.

There are no risks associated with taking part in this research. All information that is collected will remain confidential, it will not be available to prison or other Justice Department staff. Only information about groups will be published, no individual information will be identified. Taking part in this study is strictly voluntary and will have neither a good nor a bad effect on any aspect of your sentence.

I, _____, have read and understood the above and I agree to take part in this study. I am aware that I will be required to fill in several questionnaires and perform a couple of short tasks, all of which will take approximately 75 minutes.

SIGNED _____

DATE _____

APPENDIX TWO

WARING INTIMACY QUESTIONNAIRE (FORM 90).

- T/F 1. Differences of opinion never lead to verbal abuse in our relationship.
- T/F 2. I am at my best when we are together.
- T/F 3. Without my relationship my life would lack meaning.
- T/F 4. I ask my partner for things that really turn me on.
- T/F 5. I often feel insecure in social situations.
- T/F 6. I wish my partner enjoyed more of the activities that I enjoy.
- T/F 7. I enjoy spending time with my partner's family.
- T/F 8. If there is one thing that my partner and I are good at, it's talking about our feelings to each other.
- T/F 9. I don't think any couple live together with greater harmony than my partner and I.
- T/F 10. Our differences of opinion lead to shouting matches.
- T/F 11. I always kiss my partner good-bye.
- T/F 12. Our relationship is more important than career decisions.
- T/F 13. Sometimes sex seems more like work than play.
- T/F 14. Compared to other people I know I lack self-esteem.
- T/F 15. We seem to work out how we share the chores at our house.
- T/F 16. Whenever we visit my partner's parents, I feel awkward because I have nothing to talk about.
- T/F 17. Often I only pretend to listen when my partner talks.
- T/F 18. I have some needs that are not met by my marriage.
- T/F 19. Discussing problems with my partner seldom leads to arguments.
- T/F 20. I feel there is a distance between my partner and I.
- T/F 21. I value our relationship above all else.
- T/F 22. I think that the importance of sex is highly over-rated in relationships.
- T/F 23. I have a strong sense of who I am.
- T/F 24. My partner and I share the same philosophy of life.
- T/F 25. Advice from my partner's family is often appreciated and welcome.

- T/F 26. I prefer to keep my personal thoughts to myself.
- T/F 27. My partner has all the qualities that I have always wanted in a partner.
- T/F 28. Old wounds are always opened when we have differences of opinion.
- T/F 29. Despite having a relationship I often feel alone.
- T/F 30. Even in relationships everyone has to look out for themselves.
- T/F 31. Sex with my partner has never been as exciting as in my dreams.
- T/F 32. I really don't think that I am good at most things.
- T/F 33. My partner frequently helps me when I am doing an unpleasant chore.
- T/F 34. When all the relatives get together, I feel awkward and uncomfortable.
- T/F 35. I enjoy sharing my feelings with my partner.
- T/F 36. My relationship is not a perfect success.
- T/F 37. Yelling and screaming play no part in attempts to resolve our conflict.
- T/F 38. I often tell my partner that I love her/him.
- T/F 39. When one gets married, it's forever.
- T/F 40. Our personal closeness is the major determinant of how satisfactory our sexual relationship is.
- T/F 41. I feel that I am the person that I would like to be.
- T/F 42. My partner and I share the same goals in life.
- T/F 43. We are lucky to have relatives to whom we can go for help.
- T/F 44. I always try to give my spouse my full attention when she/he is talking to me.
- T/F 45. My relationship could be happier than it is.
- T/F 46. When there is a difference of opinion, we tend to negotiate a resolution rather than fight.
- T/F 47. We always do something special on our anniversary.
- T/F 48. In our relationship we try to live by the principle: "all for one and one for all".
- T/F 49. Our sexual relationship decreases my frustrations.
- T/F 50. I am embarrassed when I am the centre of attention.

- T/F 51. My partner and I like to do things for self-improvement together.
- T/F 52. It is a real effort for me to try and get along with my partner's parents.
- T/F 53. I often read the newspaper or watch TV when my partner is trying to talk to me.
- T/F 54. I have never regretted my relationship not even for a moment.
- T/F 55. I have never hit below the belt when we argue.
- T/F 56. I will never use my love for my partner as a way to hurt her/him.
- T/F 57. I am not prepared to put up with my partner's annoying habits.
- T/F 58. My relationship could not possibly be happy without a satisfactory sex life.
- T/F 59. When I compare myself with most other people, I like myself.
- T/F 60. My partner and I have worked out the male-female household roles to both our satisfaction.
- T/F 61. I feel that my parents interfere in our relationship.
- T/F 62. I would lie to my partner if I thought it would keep the peace.
- T/F 63. I don't think that anyone could possibly be happier than my partner and I when we are with one another.
- T/F 64. When we have a difference of opinion, my partner never walks out of the house.
- T/F 65. I am often unfriendly towards my partner.
- T/F 66. I don't really care if my partner supports me or not, just as long as she/he lets me lead my own life.
- T/F 67. I always seem to be in the mood for sex when my partner is.
- T/F 68. I am sometimes afraid that people will see a part of me that I am not aware of.
- T/F 69. My partner did not try to make me change after we got together.
- T/F 70. Family reunions are one highlight of our social life.
- T/F 71. My personal secrets would hurt my partner.
- T/F 72. There are times when I do not feel a great deal of love and affection for my partner.
- T/F 73. During our arguments I never try to put down my partner's point of view.
- T/F 74. Love is being able to say that you're sorry.

- T/F 75. I would be willing to compromise my beliefs to make our relationship better.
- T/F 76. My partner hardly ever turns away from my sexual advances.
- T/F 77. There are many aspects of my personality that I do not like.
- T/F 78. I found it difficult to make changes in my lifestyle after we got together.
- T/F 79. Our children interfere with the time we have together.
- T/F 80. I can say anything I want to my partner.
- T/F 81. There are some things about my partner that I do not like.
- T/F 82. Sometimes I think that all we ever do is argue.
- T/F 83. Buying gifts shows my affection for my partner.
- T/F 84. Most of the time at home I feel like I am just killing time.
- T/F 85. Our sexual relationship influences our level of closeness.
- T/F 86. Other people usually have more to offer in a conversation than I do.
- T/F 87. My partners sociability adds a positive aspect to our relationship.
- T/F 88. Our relationship would be better if our parents didn't meddle in our problems.
- T/F 89. I always take time to listen to my partner.
- T/F 90. Every new thing I have learned about my partner pleases me.

U.C.L.A. Loneliness Scale - revised (UCLS-R)

Indicate how often you feel the way described in each of the following statements. Circle one number for each.

	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely</u>	<u>Some times</u>	<u>Often</u>
1.	I feel in tune with the people around me.	1	2	3	4
2.	I lack companionship	1	2	3	4
3.	There is no one I can turn to.	1	2	3	4
4.	I do not feel alone.	1	2	3	4
5.	I feel part of a group of friends.	1	2	3	4
6.	I have a lot in common with the people around me.	1	2	3	3
7.	I am no longer close to anyone.	1	2	3	4
8.	My interests and ideas are not shared by those around me.	1	2	3	4
9.	I am an outgoing person.	1	2	3	4
10.	There are people I feel close to.	1	2	3	4
11.	I feel left out.	1	2	3	4
12.	My social relationships are superficial.	1	2	3	4
13.	No one really knows me well.	1	2	3	4
14.	I feel isolated from others.	1	2	3	4
15.	I can find companionship when I want it.	1	2	3	4
16.	There are people who really understand me.	1	2	3	4
17.	I am unhappy being so withdrawn.	1	2	3	4
18.	People are around me but not with me.	1	2	3	4
19.	There are people I can talk to.	1	2	3	4
20.	There are people I can turn to.	1	2	3	4

State-Trait Anger Expression Intentory (STAXI)**Part 1 Directions**

A number of statements that people use to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement and then fill in the circle with the number which indicates how you feel right now. Remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement, but give the answer which seems to best describe your present feelings.

On the answer sheet fill in: 1 for *Not at all* 3 for *Moderately so*
 2 for *Somewhat* 4 for *Very much so*

How I Feel Right Now

1. I am furious
2. I feel irritated
3. I feel angry
4. I feel like yelling at somebody
5. I feel like breaking things
6. I am mad
7. I feel like banging on the table
8. I feel like hitting someone
9. I am burned up
10. I feel like swearing

Part 2 Directions

A number of statements that people use to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement and then fill in the circle with the number which indicates how you generally feel. Remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement, but give the answer which seems to best describe how you generally feel.

On the answer sheet fill in: 1 for *Almost never* 3 for *Often*
 2 for *Sometimes* 4 for *Almost always*

How I Generally Feel

11. I am quick tempered.
12. I have a fiery temper
13. I am a hotheaded person.
14. I get angry when I'm slowed by by others' mistakes.
15. I feel annoyed when I am not given recognition for doing good work.
16. I fly off the handle.
17. When I get mad, I say nasty things.
18. It makes me furious when I am criticized in front of others.
19. When I get frustrated, I feel like hitting someone.
20. I feel infuriated when I do a good job and get a poor evaluation.

Part 3 Directions

Everyone feels angry or furious from time to time, but people differ in the ways that they react when they are angry. A number of statements are listed below which people use to describe their reactions when they feel angry or furious. Read each statement and then fill in the circle with the number which indicates how often you generally react or behave in the manner described when you are feeling angry or furious. Remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement.

On the answer sheet, fill in: 1 for *Almost never* 3 for *Often*
 2 for *Sometimes* 4 for *Almost always*

When Angry or Furious....

21. I control my temper.
22. I express my anger.
23. I keep things in.
24. I am patient with others.
25. I pout or sulk.
26. I withdraw from people.
27. I make sarcastic remarks to others.
28. I keep my cool.
29. I do things like slam doors.
30. I boil inside, but I don't show it.
31. I control my behaviour.
32. I argue with others.
33. I tend to harbour grudges that I don't tell anyone about.
34. I strike out at whatever infuriates me.
35. I can stop myself from losing my temper.
36. I am secretly quite critical of others.
37. I am angrier than I am willing to admit.
38. I calm down faster than most other people.
39. I say nasty things.
40. I try to be tolerant and understanding.
41. I'm irritated a great deal more than people are aware of.
42. I lose my temper.
43. If someone annoys me, I'm apt to tell him or her how I feel.
44. I control my angry feelings.

APPENDIX FIVE:

Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Index (M-C SCI)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it relates to you personally. Then circle either T (for true) or F (for false) as they appear at the end of each item.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|
| 1. | Before voting, I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. | T | F |
| 2. | I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. | T | F |
| 3. | It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged. | T | F |
| 4. | I have never intensely disliked anyone. | T | F |
| 5. | On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life. | T | F |
| 6. | I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. | T | F |
| 7. | I am always careful about my manner of dress. | T | F |
| 8. | My table manners at home are not as good as when I eat eat out in a restaurant. | T | F |
| 9. | If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it. | T | F |
| 10. | On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability. | T | F |
| 11. | I like to gossip at times. | T | F |
| 12. | There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right. | T | F |
| 13. | No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener. | T | F |
| 14. | I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something. | T | F |

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|
| 15. | There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. | T | F |
| 16. | I'm always willing to admit when I make a mistake. | T | F |
| 17. | I always try to practise what I preach. | T | F |
| 18. | I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouth, obnoxious people. | T | F |
| 19. | I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget. | T | F |
| 20. | When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it. | T | F |
| 21. | I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. | T | F |
| 22. | At times I have really insisted in having things my own way. | T | F |
| 23. | There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things. | T | F |
| 24. | I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings. | T | F |
| 25. | I never resent being asked to return a favour. | T | F |
| 26. | I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own. | T | F |
| 27. | I have never made a long trip without checking the safety of the car. | T | F |
| 28. | There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others. | T | F |
| 29. | I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off. | T | F |
| 30. | I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me. | T | F |
| 31. | I have never felt that I was punished without cause. | T | F |
| 32. | I sometimes think when people have misfortunes they only got what they deserved. | T | F |
| 33. | I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings. | T | F |

APPENDIX SIX:

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SENTENCE INFORMATION

CODE:

AGE:

DOB:

1) ETHNICITY:

1. Pakeha New Zealander
2. Maori
3. Samoan
4. Fijian
5. Cook Islander
6. Tongan
7. Australian
8. Other _____

2) CURRENT RELATIONSHIP STATUS:

1. never married
2. Married first time.
3. remarried;
4. seperated;
5. divorced;
6. widowed;
7. defacto
8. other _____.

3) WAS LIVING WITH PARTNER BEFORE PRESENT ARREST:

1. yes 2. no.

If yes, intends to resume relationship upon release:

1. yes 2. no 3. unsure

4) NUMBER OF MARRIAGE LIKE RELATIONSHIPS: _____

5) DURATION OF MOST IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP: _____

6) OCCUPATION:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. professional/managerial | 2. other white collar/farming |
| 3. clerical/sales | 4. trades/skilled labourer |
| 5. labourer/unskilled | 6. unemployed |
| 7. sickness/invalid | 8. DPB |
| 9. other _____ | |

7) CURRENT OFFENCE(S) (tick):

- ☐ murder
- ☐ manslaughter
- ☐ GBH
- ☐ assault
- ☐ robbery
- ☐ burglary
- ☐ theft
- ☐ fraud
- ☐ dealing, manufacture, cultivation of drugs
- ☐ sexual violation/rape
- ☐ attempted sexual violation/rape
- ☐ assault with intent to commit sexual violation/rape
- ☐ indecent assault/indecent act or permitting/procuring
- ☐ other/details _____

8) LENGTH OF CURRENT SENTENCE

- 1. 0-11 months
- 2. 12-23 months
- 3. 24-35 months
- 4. 36-47 months
- 5. 48-59 months
- 6. 60-71 months
- 7. 72-83 months
- 8. 84 + months
- 9. Life
- 10. Preventive Detention

9) OFFENDING CAREER COMMENCE PRE-ADULTHOOD (age 20).

- 1. yes 2. no

10) RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIM (child molesters only):

- 1. natural father
- 2. step father/adopted father
- 3. foster father/defacto father
- 4. grandfather
- 5. uncle
- 6. brother/stepbrother
- 7. cousin or other relative
- 8. unrelated but known to the victim
- 9. unrelated and unknown to the victim

11) GENDER OF VICTIM (child molesters only):

- 1. male 2. female 3. both

12) OFFENDERS PREFERRED VICTIM GENDER (child molesters only):
1. male 2. female 3. both

13) OFFENDER PREFERRED AGE OF VICTIM

- 1, 0-5 yrs
- 2. 6-9 yrs
- 3. 10-12 yrs
- 3 13-15 ys